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ABSTRACT

A collection of texts in Upper Tanudan Kalinga, a language spoken by about 3,000 people in three villages in the Philippines, includes texts recorded and transcribed from native speakers, edited for clarity and style, and checked for accuracy of cultural content. Four types of discourse-genre are represented: narrative-fiction and narrative-factual, procedural, expository, and hortatory. The texts are representative of the dialect spoken by the people of Lubo who call their dialect" Linurubu." Cultural notes and English translations are provided. The main cultural themes of the texts include leadership, marriage and responsibilities toward children, traditional values for living honorably, and the tension between old and new Kalinga values. (MSE)

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Studies in Philippine Linguistics

SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES: PHILIPPINE TEXTS, NO. 1

UPPER TANUDAN KALINGA TEXTS

1985

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

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Studies in Philippine Linguistics is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. There will be two regular numbers a year, a supplementary series of text collections, and occasional special numbers as the volume of suitable papers submitted may warrant. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Deadlines for receipt of manuscripts for the first number of each year will be the first Friday in April and the deadline for receipt of manuscripts for the second number will be the first Friday in October. Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

The editors wish to express appreciation to Ken Zook for his work in developing the programs used in the computer assisted editing of this volume.

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LINGUISTICS

SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES: PHILIPPINE TEXTS, NO.1

UPPER TANUDAN KALINGA TEXTS

Compiled by Sherri Brainard

Edited by
Fe T. Otanes
Austin Hale

1985

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES
SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

Manila

PREFACE

This issue introduces a series of Philippine text collections, which will supplement the two regular numbers of Studies in Philippine Linguistics published each year. The texts are intended to provide insights into the language and culture of the diverse cultural communities of the Philippines. We expect, therefore, that the series will prove useful to linguists and ethnologists alike.

The first issue is a collection of texts from Upper Tanudan Kalinga, which were gathered by Sherri Brainard of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The map on page vi shows the location of this language group.

Joe Lenhert
Text Volume Editor

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the men and women of Lubo who generously gave their time and help in preparing this collection of texts in their own language. Without their vital participation this volume would not exist. I am grateful to ex-Mayor Juan Magannon, Councilman Jose Sicnao, and Attorney Victor Dalanao for the effort they spent in editing the texts and checking the accuracy of the cultural notes. A special note of thanks goes to Attorney Dalanao for the long hours of help he gave with the transcription of the texts and his patience in answering endless questions during the analysis and preparation of the material presented in this volume. The responsibility, however, for any errors or omissions in the texts, analysis, or cultural notes is my own.

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

The following are brief biographical sketches of the people who contributed texts to this volume.

Carmen Bulan, B.S. Agricultural Education, is a high school teacher in her late twenties. She speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English as well as her own language.

Juan Dagadag, B.S. Agricultural Education, is an employee of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. He is in his early thirties and speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English in addition to his own language.

Attorney Victor Dalanao, L.L.B., is an attorney in his early thirties. He speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English in addition to his own language.

Dalen Do-ayan has completed two years of college in home technology. She is in her early thirties and speaks Ilocano and English as well as her own Kalinga dialect.

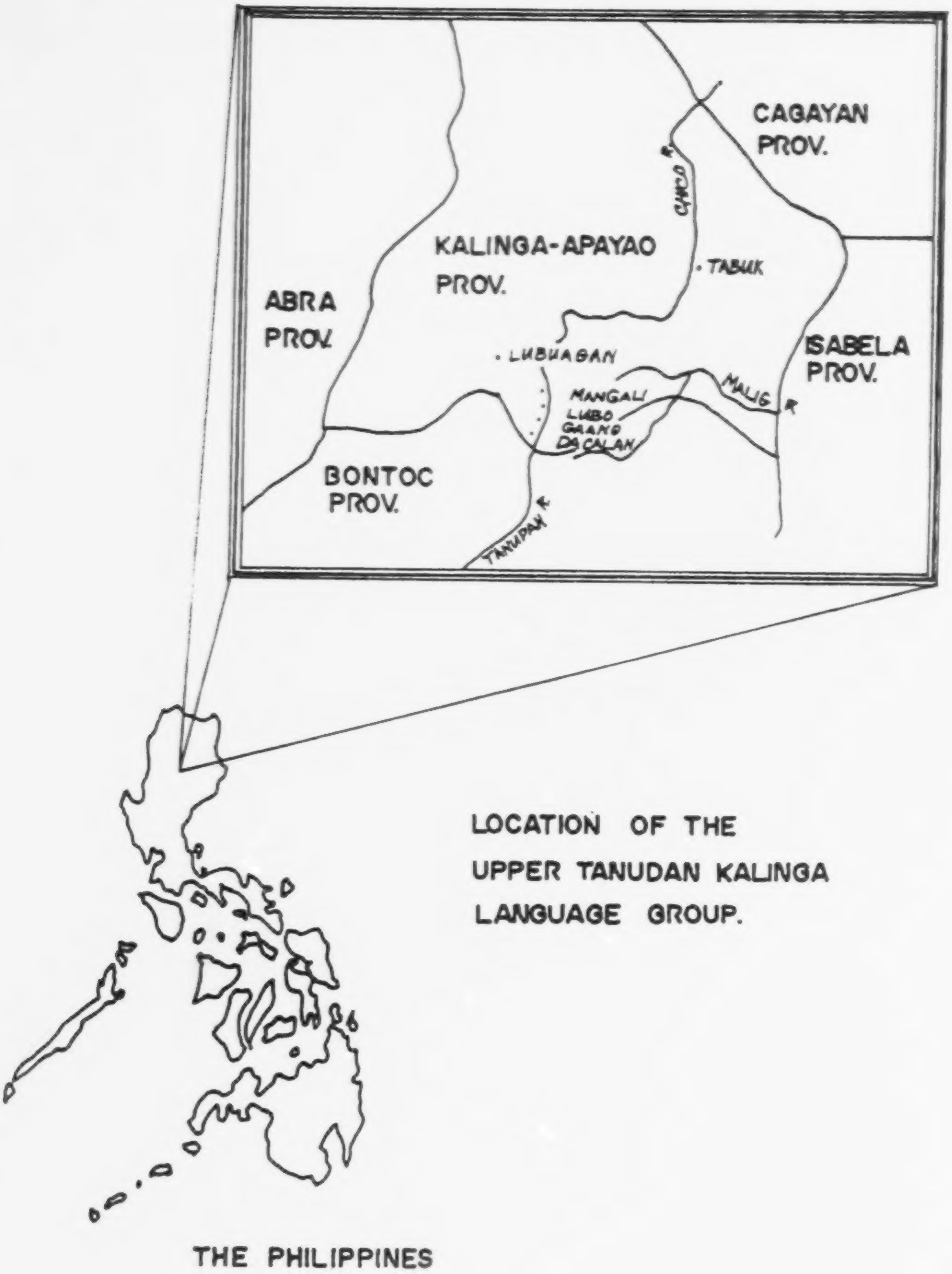
Ex-Mayor Juan Magannon is a retired teacher who has taught school for about thirty years. He is in his late sixties and speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English in addition to his own language.

Lugayat Manao is in her late fifties. She is a native speaker of Upper Tanudan Kalinga.

Ines Maslang has completed two years of college education in agricultural technology. She is in her late twenties and speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English as well as her own language.

Councilman Jose Sicnao is in his late forties. He speaks Pilipino, Ilocano, and English as well as his own language.

Ex-Mayor Alfredo Tombali is in his late fifties. He is the Catholic catechist of Lubo and speaks Ilocano and English as well as his own language.


CAGAYAN PROV.
KALINGA-APAYAO PROV.
CHICO R.
TABUK
ABRA PROV.
LUBUAGAN
ISABELA PROV.
MANGALI
LUBO
GAANG
DACALAN
MALIG R.
BONTOC PROV.
TANUDAN R.
THE PHILIPPINES

LOCATION OF THE
UPPER TANUDAN KALINGA
LANGUAGE GROUP.

INTRODUCTION

Upper Tanudan Kalinga is spoken by approximately 3,000 people who live in three villages in the southern end of the Tanudan Valley: Lubo, Gaang, and Dacalan. Tanudan Valley is located in the municipality of Tanudan in the province of Kalinga-Apayao, in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Upper Tanudan Kalinga belongs to the Central Cordilleran subgroup of Northern Philippine languages and is most closely related to Balangao, Bontoc, Kankanay, and Ifugao.

These original texts were recorded and transcribed from native speakers from the village of Lubo. The texts were gathered between August 1982 and March 1985 in Lubo. A committee of three Lubo men edited the texts for clarity and style, and checked the cultural notes for accuracy of content. The texts are representative of the dialect spoken by the people of Lubo who call their dialect 'Linurubu'.

The texts represent four types of discourse genre: narrative-fiction (Text 1) and narrative-factual (Text 2), procedural (Texts 3,4,5), expository (Texts 8-13), and hortatory (Texts 14,15,16). In two cases a text is a combination of expository and narrative discourse genre (Texts 6 and 7). The main cultural themes of the texts include leadership, marriage and responsibilities toward children, traditional values for living honorably, and the tension between old and new Kalinga values.

Note should be taken that the English translation is neither a true literal nor a fluent idiomatic translation. An attempt has been made to avoid the awkward wording produced by literal translations, while keeping the translation close enough to the vernacular text that it will provide help to the reader who is interested in the form and structure of the language as well as the meaning.

The people of Lubo live in a single, compact village of about 350 families and number around 1400 people. Traditionally, they have practiced wet-rice farming and swidden agriculture. Coffee is grown as a cash crop. In recent years families have been able to provide their children with a high level of education. Schooling is presently available in the community to the fourth year of high school. Many families also send their children to larger towns and cities for education at colleges and universities. Higher degrees are not uncommon among the Lubos. Within the village, Lubos are trained teachers and civil government employees. In the towns and cities outside the valley, Lubos hold positions as lawyers, medical doctors, engineers, priests, and anthroplogists.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	abstract
ACCF	accessory focus
ADD	additive
ADJ	adjectivizer
ADT	adjunct
ADV	adversative
ALT	alternative
ATTN	attention getter
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CAUT	caution
CERT	certainty
CIRC	circumstantial
CO	coordinating
CONC	concessive
CONT	continuative
CTG	contingent
D1	deitic near speaker
D2	deitic near hearer
D3	deitic far from both
DBL	doubling
DIST	distributive
DL	dual
EMPH	emphatic
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
G	genitive
HAB	habitual
HORT	hortatorical
HYP	hypothetical
IN	inclusive
INS	intensity
INT	interrogative
L	location
LG	ligature
LIM	limiter
LK	link
M	marker
MN	manner
MOD	modal
N	nominative
NEG	negative
NP	nonpast tense
NR	nominalizer
O	oblique
OF	object focus
OPT	optative
P	past tense
PART	participatory
PL	plural
POSS	possibility
PR	polite request

PROB	probability
RA	recent action
REC	reciprocal
RS	reported speech
S	singular
SEQ	sequential
SF	subject focus
SM	specific marker
T	topic
TI	time
U	universal
V	vowel
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
I	nominative enclitic pronoun, focus subject
II	genitive enclitic pronoun, nonfocus subject, or possessor pronoun
III	full form, free-standing pronoun, replaces focus noun phrase
IV	full form, free-standing pronoun, replaces focus noun phrase

SYMBOLS

blank space	word boundary
=	morpheme boundary
:	indeterminate morpheme boundary
,	semantic/grammatical components
—	discontinuous morpheme
T	alternative related meanings
.	compound gloss
??	undetermined meaning
( )	zero allomorph
*	see notes and/or introductory comment appended to this text

1 NU PAMOSLA DA SISSIWIT ADI
HYP INT G,PL bird NEG

G=UM=INGAB BINARATAN
sound=SF,NP=__:L Binaratan

WHY THE BIRDS AT BINARATAN ARE SILENT

By Juan Magannon

1. Sa dandani d=umm=atong kanu
T,S old.days arrive=SF,P=__ RS

am=baru we tagu ya da duwe
SF,NP=good LK live/person CO N,PL two:LK

asu=nad Dakaran. 2. Ma=taag da
dog=II,3,S:L Dacalan SF,NP=ignorant N,PL

i=Dakarak norpu=wan=da.
person.of=Dacalan:N,S SF,P:origin=NR=II,3,PL

3. Ang=kub=kubit kanu da tagu
SF,NP=CVC,CONT=nudge RS N,PL live/person

te awag gad de ay=ana p=umm=adda
CAUS EXT UM N,S go=NR:II,3,S bright=SF,P=__

pay. 4. Na=ppog pun kanu da tagu we
EMPH SF,P=bored SM RS N,PL live/person LK

mangi=ila, kan kanu da udum,
SF,NP:CV,CONT=see say RS N,PL other

"Imus=on=yu ud nu ngani ngadan=na."
ask=OF,NP=II,2,PL PR LK INT:G,S name=II,3,S

5. In=imus=da pun kanu kana kanu,
P=ask(OF)=II,3,PL SM RS say:II,3,S RS

"Sakon ak Kabuniyan=e um=oy
III,1,S N,S Kabuniyan=LK SF,NP=go

angilatta tagud luta nu ngani
SF,NP:see:O,PL live/person:L earth LK INT:G,S

upan=da koon."
HAB=II,3,PL do/make:OF,NP

1.*Long ago a handsome man and his two dogs arrived at Dacalan. 2. The Dacalan people did not know where the man and his dogs had come from. 3. The people nudged each other because everywhere he went it glowed. 4. When the people grew tired of watching him, they said to each other, "Please ask him what his name is." 5.*When they asked him he said, "I am Kabuniyan, and I have come to see what people on earth are doing."

6. Ma=bigat kad kana kanu,
SF,NP=morning UM say:II,3,S RS

6.*The following day he said, "I am going hunting." 7.*He called

"Iy=yak ud manganup."
go=I,1,S PR SF,NP:hunt.with.dogs

7. Dada=ana kanu da asu=na,
call.dog=RF,NP:II,3,S RS N,PL dog=II,3,S

wot um=oy.
SEQ SF,NP=go

8. Maayadang pun kanu, d=umm=atong atte
8-10.a.m. SM RS arrive=SF,P=__ O,S

butod ab Binaratan. 9. In=tidi=na
mountain L Binaratan P=order(OF)=II,3,S

kanu da asu=na, wot tukdu ta
RS N,PL dog=II,3,S SEQ sit CTG

dongr=ona dida.
hear=OF,NP:II,3,S III,3,PL

10. Panos pun kanu, annat kanu
after.awhile SM RS D2 RS

giyak=de ang=singasinge
barking=II,3,S:LK SF,NP=alternate:LK

mu=uma=umas te
SF,NP=CVCV,REP=fade.in.and.out CAUS

ip=pun kanu koon mangngor
NEG,EXT,P=MOD RS do/make:OF,NP SF,NP:hear

atta sissiwit=e sing=gi=giki ye
O,PL bird=LK DIST=CV,PL=loud.chirping LK

angan atta bunga=n da kayu.
SF,NP:eat O,PL fruit=LG G,PL tree

11. Na=alimuun kanuk Kabuniyan atta sissiwit=e
SF,P=angry RS:N,S Kabuniyan O,PL bird=LK

sing=gi=giki te ip=pun
DIST=CV,PL=loud.chirping CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD

dongr=onatte giyak da asu=na, wot
hear=OF,NP:O,S barking N,PL dog=II,3,S SEQ

kana kanu, "Losan=kayu we sissiwit
say:II,3,S RS all=I,2,PL LK bird

his dogs and went.

8.*At about nine in the morning, he arrived at the mountain called Binaratan. 9. He sent his dogs off, and then sat down to listen for them.

10. After awhile there came the sound of barking, as though the dogs were competing with each other. It was fading in and out, and he could hardly hear it because of all the chattering of the birds who were eating fruit in the trees. 11. Kabuniyan grew angry with the birds, who were chattering so loudly he could not hear the barking of his dogs. So he said, "All you birds stop chattering because I cannot hear the barking of my dogs." 12. The birds stopped, and it was like the silence following a heavy rain.

```
g=um=inok        te   ip=pun          mangngor
silent=SF,NP=__  CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD SF,NP:hear

atte giyak   da   asu=k."
O,S  barking G,PL dog=II,1,S

12. Isu=nan              no=ogwa=an    di
    same=II,3,S:OF,NP SF,P=cease=NR G,S

dor-am      da   sissiwit.
heavy.rain G,PL bird


     13. Oni   pun asi=not         dongr=on
         later SM  LIM=II,3,S:SEQ hear=OF,NP

de  giyak   da   asu=nad      doratte
N,S barking G,PL dog=II,3,S:L down:O,S

worok        ni  wail. 14. Nang=-osog,  wot
lowest.point G,S brook     SF,P=go.down SEQ

ni=batug       pun atte giyak   da   asu=na,
SF,P=draw.near SM  O,S  barking G,PL dog=II,3,S

nan=dilis            kanu. 15. Ilana
SF,P=creep.quietly RS          see:OF,NP:II,3,S

pun de  lobong    ni  wail, andi ye
SM  N,S deep.pool G,S brook D3   LK

b=in=akkong       da   asu=na
surround=P=__(OF) G,PL dog=II,3,S

amkok=e              am=mangamanga
full.grown.deer=LK SF,NP=branched

sakkud=ne
antler=II,3,S:LK

anila=silak
SF,NP:CVCV,REP=swim.fast.on.surface.of.water

atte lobong.   16. Umm=adani pun,
O,S  deep.pool      SF,P=near SM

im=bintug=na          tubay=na,    wot
ACCF,P=throw=II,3,S spear=II,3,S SEQ

ni=iggatte   lu=russik=ana.
SF,P=put:O,S CV=fatal.point=NR:II,3,S
```

13. Later on he heard the barking of his dogs at the brook down below. 14. He went down, and when he drew near to the barking he crept up quietly. 15.*When he looked down at the deep pool, there were his dogs. They had surrounded a deer with a full set of antlers, which was swimming around in a circle in the deep pool. 16.*After he drew near, he threw his spear, and it hit the spot behind the deer's foreleg and went directly to the heart. 17.*When the deer was dead, Kabuniyan got it and placed it upon two pieces of wood at the bank of the brook. 18. He made a fire and singed the hairs of the deer. 19. After singeing the hair, he gutted it. 20. He took the heart and the liver and placed them on a skewer. 21.*After the heart and liver were cooked, he performed the awad ceremony. 22.*"This is

17. Na=toy pun, inn=ara=na, wot
SF,P=die SM P=get(OF)=II,3,S SEQ

i=darangan=na
ACCF,NP=rack.made.of.two.pieces.of.wood=II,3,S

atte dupit ni wail. 18. Ang=-apuy yot
O,S bank G,S brook SF,NP=fire SEQ

langn=ona. 19. Na=abus pun
singe.hair=OF,NP:II,3,S SF,P=finish SM

norngon b=in=uryang=ana.
SF,P:singe.hair gut=P=__=RF:II,3,S

20. Arana pusu=na kan
get:OF,NP:II,3,S heart=II,3,S CO

agtoy=na, wot i=dawis=na.
liver=II,3,S SEQ ACCF,NP=skewer=II,3,S

21. Nu=utu pun, nang=-awad.
SF,P=cook SM SF,P=awad.ceremony

22. "Annat pay de
D2 EMPH N,S

pusik=yu we
share.of.meat.in.ritual.butchering=II,2,S LK

annat ab Binaratan, annat ab Binuybuyyugan,
D2 Ls Binaratan D2 L Binuybuyyugan

annat ag Gallasan ya da
D2 L Gallasan CO N,PL

ka=buto=butod=an.
NR=CVCV,PL=mountain=__

23. An=songa=yu pay da
SF,NP=songa.ceremony=II,2,PL EMPH N,PL

borok=yu kan da luwang=yu."
pig=II,2,S CO N,PL water.buffalo=II,2,PL

24. Na=abus pun nang=-awad,
SF,P=finish SM SF,P=awad.ceremony

nangorwasan.
SF,P:eat.remaining.part.of.liver.and.heart

25. Na=abus pun
SF,P=finish SM

your share, you who are at Binaratan, you who are at Binuybuyyugan, you who are at Gallasan and the other mountains. 23.*You use the meat as your pig and water buffalo for the songa ceremony." 24. After finishing the awad ceremony, he ate the remaining part of the liver and heart. 25. After eating he placed the meat on a pole to carry it and went home.

nangorwasan,
SF,P:eat.remaining.part.of.liver.and.heart

g=in=imata=na de
men's.harvesting.basket=P=__(OF)=II,3,S N,S

laman=na, wot um=ayaw.
wild.pig=II,3,S SEQ SF,NP=leave

26. Ma=sdom pun, d=umm=atong ad
SF,NP=dusk SM arrive=SF,P=__ L

Dakaran. 27. Im=badong=na laman=na,
Dacalan ACCF,P=left=II,3,S wild.pig=II,3,S

wot tubtub=ona
SEQ chip.away.portion.of.wine.jar=OF,NP:II,3,S

ammutuk ang=-isna=ana.
wine.jar:N,S SF,NP=cooked.rice=NR:II,3,S

28. Nu=utu pun de isna=na
SF,P=cook SM N,S cooked.rice=II,3,S

nanipoy, wot nu=utu pun,
SF,P:food.served.with.rice SEQ SF,P=cook SM

nangan. 29. Il=liwas=na de
SF,P:eat ACCF,P=get.all=II,3,S N,S

isna=na ya sa
cooked.rice=II,3,S CO T,S

tipoy=na te
food.served.with.rice=II,3,S CAUS

umm=amd=an de nu=urat=ana.
SF,P=too.much=NR N,S SF,P=hunger=NR:II,3,S

30. Na=abus pun nangan, na=suyop te
SF,P=finish SM SF,P:eat SF,P=sleep CAUS

umm=amd=an de ni=iwar=ana.
SF,P=too.much=NR N,S SF,P=tired=NR:II,3,S

31. Ip=pun kanu
NEG,EXT,P=MOD RS

g=in=ik=gikna=natte
CVC,CONT=P=__=feel.physically(OF)=II,3,S:O,S

26. When it was dusk he arrived at Dacalan. 27.*He set down his meat; then he chipped away the upper part of a wine jar and cooked his rice in it. 28.*After his rice was done, he cooked his meat and then he ate. 29. He ate all his rice and meat because he was very hungry. 30. After he finished eating, he slept because he was so tired. 31. He slept soundly through the night and then it was morning.

labi yot ma=bigat.
night SEQ SF,NP=morning

32. Oni pun kanatta
later SM say:II,3,S:O,PL

i=Dakaran, "Ing=kayu kad
person.of=Dacalan go=II,2,PL UM

anganup ya nangara=kayu,
SF,NP:hunt.with.dogs CO SF,P:get=I,2,PL

mang=-awad=kayu pay atta
SF,NP=awad.ceremony=I,2,PL EMPH O,PL

sin=-ayam atta laman ya
own=domestic.animal O,PL wild.pig CO

pusik=an=yu
share.of.meat.in.ritual.butchering=RF,NP=II,2,PL

pek Kabuniyan ta pa=datng=ona
EMPH:N,S Kabuniyan CTG CAUS=arrive=OF,NP:II,3,S

kad de
UM N,S

p=in=a=ropaw=an=yu,
CAUS=P=__=share.of.cooked.game=NR=II,2,PL

igammu=wone nangara=kayuk
know=OF,NP:II,3,S:LK SF,P:get=I,2,PL:N,S

laman."
wild.pig

32. Later on he told the people of Dacalan, "When you go hunting and you get some wild game, perform the awad ceremony for the spirits who own the wild game. Give a share to Kabuniyan, too, so that when he gets a share of your cooked game he will know that you got some of the wild game."

33. Oni pun kana, "Inggaw=kayu we
later SM say:II,3,S present=I,2,PL lk

i=pugaw ta iy=yak=on atte
person.of=earth CO go=I,1,S=OF,NP O,S

igaw=ku." 34. Oni pun ip=pun
place=II,1,S later SM NEG,EXT,P=MOD

inn=ila=dak umm=ayaw=ana.
P=see(OF)=II,3,PL:N,S SF,P=leave=NR:II,3,S

35. Sana angak=-anup=an da
Dl NR=hunt.with.dogs=NR G,PL

33.*After awhile he said, "Stay here, you people from earth, and I will go back home." 34. Then he disappeared. 35.*This is why the people from Dacalan are hunters.

i=Dakaran.
person.of=Dacalan

36. Da b=in=ory=an ad Dakaran, siya
T,PL house=P=__=RF L Dacalan III,3,S

kanu dakor=an ni
RS big/adult=NR G,S

iy=a=asug=da de
ACCF,NP=CV,CONT=put.on.fire.to.cook=II,3,PL N,S

siya nang=-isna=an Kabuniyan de
III,3,S SF,P=cooked.rice=NR Kabuniyan N,S

t=in=ubtub=ne
chip.away.portion.of.wine.jar=P=__(OF)=II,3,S:LK

ammutu te laman de sida=n ni
wine.jar CAUS wild.pig N,S meat=LG G,S

isna=na. 37. Siya
cooked.rice=II,3,S III,3,S

anut=tuwa=an da tagu we umm=oy
SF,NP:CVC=true=NR G,PL live/person LK SF,P=go

nanganup ak Kabuniyan ab Binaratan
SF,P:hunt.with.dogs N,S Kabuniyan L Binaratan

de ip=pun ossa=as sissiwit ak
N,S NEG,EXT,P=MOD other/one=NR:N,S bird N,S

g=um=ingatte butod ab Binaratan.
sound=SF,NP=__:O,S mountain L Binaratan

38. Kigad ni nama=gingk=an Kabuniyan
extent G,S CAUS,SF,P=silent=NR Kabuniyan

atta sissiwit ab Binaratan ingganatte sana,
O,PL bird L Binaratan extent:O,S now

ip=pun gum=g=um=ingas
NEG,EXT,P=MOD CVC,PL=sound=SF,NP=__:N,S

sissiwit. 39. Nu ing=kab Binaratan,
bird HYP go=I,2,S:L Binaratan

ma=sdaaw=ka te ip=pun
SF,NP=surprise=I,2,S CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD

36.*The reason why families in Dacalan cook in large pots is because Kabuniyan cooked his rice in a large chipped wine jar since he had wild pig to go with his rice. 37. The reason why people believe that Kabuniyan went to hunt at Binaratan is because not even a single bird is heard on Binaratan. 38. From the time Kabuniyan silenced the birds at Binaratan until now, not a single bird has made a sound. 39. If you go to Binaratan, you will be amazed because you will not hear the sound of a single bird. 40. The only thing the birds do is fly from tree to tree in the forest at Binaratan.

ossa=ak ginga=n di sissiwit at
other/one=NR:N,S sound=LG G,S bird N,S

tongr=om. 40. Abus elak
hear=OF,NP:II,2,S only HORT:N,S

koon da sissiwit de
do/make:OF,NP G,PL bird N,S

sin=ta=tayap=datte kak=kayutte
DIST=CV,PL=fly=I,3,PL:O,S CVC,PL=wood/tree:O,S

ginubat ab Binaratan.
forest L Binaratan

Cultural notes for WHY THE BIRDS AT BINARATAN ARE SILENT

1. Dacalan is located about five kilometers south of Lubo in Tanudan Valley.

5. Kabuniyan is the foremost spirit in Kalinga folkstories. He is over all other spirits. He comes to earth in different forms: in this instance as a man, sometimes as an old ragged woman, sometimes as a woman with only one breast. In his relations with human beings, he usually teaches people rituals and activities which will insure good fortune and keep them from harm.

6. Hunting terms:

anganup - to hunt with dogs for wild pig and deer
anurmun - to hunt during the rainy season (November to February) without dogs; the object of the hunt is wild game that are hiding in lairs
anisim - to hunt deer that have come to drink at salty springs; dogs are not used

7. Calling terms:

andada - to call dogs
ampuwa - to call chickens
ayyuka - to call pigs

8. Binaratan is located 30-35 kilometers south of Lubo.

15. *Amkok* is a full-grown male deer. *Ugsa* is the generic term for deer. *Anilasilak* refers to the natural behavior of a deer in which it runs to a pool of water or a stream in order to defend itself from attackers. The deer swims about in the water and takes mouthfuls of water which it spits at its attacker.

16. *Lurussikan* are the points of the body (human or animal) where a spear or knife enters and directly strikes the heart. For people, the points are the side of the chest near the muscle connected to the shoulder blade, and the center of the chest. For animals, it is the point at the side of the body just behind the top joint of the foreleg.

Throwing terms:

ibintug - to throw (generic)
igadang - to throw an elongated object
isorwigi - to throw something behind one's back
iworsi - to throw to the side
iballu - to throw away
ilusad - to throw an elongated object
iwakkay - to throw to the side

17. *Darangan* is a rack made of two sticks which are tied together in a V-shape. The rack is propped up against a stone. The dead animal is placed on the rack, and a fire is built under the animal in order to singe off the hairs.

21. The *awad* ritual is performed in order to ensure that the hunter will be able to catch more wild game in the future. It is still performed today by most hunters. Sentences 22 and 23 give the actual words spoken in the *awad* ritual.

22. *Pusik* is a token share of the liver of wild game which is offered to the spirits that own the wild game. It is only a sliver of the meat. The spirits who own the wild game are called *pinaing*.

Binuybuyyugan is located five kilometers east of Binaratan. Its name comes from the word *buyugan*, which is the generic term for bee. The mountain is so named because it is cone-shaped, like a beehive.

23. *Songa* is a ritual performed for a sick person in which a pig, cow, or water buffalo is butchered as a prayer for the quick recovery of the person who is sick. The idea behind the statement in sentence 22 is that the spirits who own the wild game are to take the spirit of the wild pig or deer which the hunter has killed and use it for a *songa* ritual of their own, as though it were the domestic pig or water buffalo that would be butchered by a person for the ritual.

27. Containers:

ammutu - wine jar used for fermenting and storing wine
banga - clay pot (generic)
ammuwok - small clay pot used for cooking
laranggan - large clay pot used for storing rice or water
linga - container used for roasting

28. Rice terms:

isna - cooked rice
pagoy - rice growing in a field or harvested rice that has not yet been pounded
bogas - husked rice
tipoy - any food that is eaten with rice; it can be vegetables or meat

33. The general belief is that another world exists above the earth. Kabuniyan lives in this upper world.

35. Even today the Dacalan people are known for being good hunters and having plenty of wild game to eat during the hunting season.

36. Although the Dacalan people use large cooking pots for their rice, the Lubo people are known for using small pots for cooking rice. The implication is that when Kabuniyan came to Lubo he did not catch any wild game, and so he had to eat his rice without any meat.

2 DA K=IW=WA=K AG GORBIYAN
T,PL do/make=P=__(OF)=II,1,S TI yesterday

WHAT I DID YESTERDAY

By Carmen Bulan

1. Adi=yak pun umm=alig gorbiyan
NEG=I,1,S MOD SF,P=come:TI yesterday

te umm=oy=ak nan=-isnap Pugu.
CAUS SF,P=go=I,1,S SF,P=cooked.rice:L Pugu

2. Iyy=isna=ak da
RF,P=cooked.rice=__:II,1,S N,PL

p=in=angu=ni ye
hire.laborers=NR=__=II,1,PL,EX LK

na=sawar=ak opat, wot
SF,P=extra=NR:N,S four SEQ

inni=sda=ni iyas.
ACCF,P=meat=II,1,PL,EX piglet

3. Iyy=osok=dap Pugu, wot
ACCF,P=plant.rice=II,3,PL:L Pugu SEQ

umm=oy=dad Domang. 4. Na=gangput pun,
SF,P=go=I,3,PL:L Domang SF,P=finish SM

umm=oy=kani losan atte
SF,P=go=I,1,PL,EX all O,S

pa=pannar=an=ni.
CV=rice.seedling=NR=II,1,PL,EX

5. Na=abus=ni pun iyy=osok
SF,P=finish=II,1,PL,EX SM ACCF,P=plant.rice

andi ye umm=ag-agaw wot in=kanin
D3 LK SF,P=afternoon SEQ go=I,1,PL,EX:OF,NP

losan. 6. Sadi k=inn=ing=wa=ni atte
all D3 do/make=NR=P=__=II,1,PL,EX O,S

orgog gorbiyan. 7. Abus ni
day:TI yesterday finish G,S

osok=nig gorbiyan, wot
plant.rice=II,1,PL,EX:TI yesterday SEQ

1.*I did not come yesterday because I went to cook rice at Pugu. 2.*I cooked rice for our fourteen hired laborers, and then we butchered a piglet. 3.*They planted rice seedlings at Pugu, and then they went to Domang. 4.*When it was finished, we all went to the place where rice seedlings are usually planted. 5. When we finished planting the rice seedlings it was late afternoon, so we all went home. 6. That is what we did all day yesterday. 7.*Yesterday was the last day of our planting so now we are resting.

nanareat=kani.
SF,P:rest.period.after.planting.rice=I,1,PL,E

Cultural notes for WHAT I DID YESTERDAY

1. Pugu is the location of the elementary and high schools for Lubo. It is about two kilometers south of the central village of Lubo, next to the Tanudan River.

Cooking terms:

ang-utu - to cook (generic)
ang-isna - to cook rice; the root is isna 'cooked rice'
anipoy - to cook tipoy, which is any food that accompanies rice

2. Labor terms:

pinangu - a person who works for someone else; it can involve any kind of activity; the compensation can be a wage, or the provision of a meal, or both a wage and a meal
ampangu - to arrange for laborers to work
linabbu - a person who works for someone else and receives a wage as compensation
allabbu - to work for someone else and receive a wage

Butchering terms:

ansida - to butcher a pig, dog, or chicken (generic)
ankodag - to butcher a water buffalo or cow
amat-ug - to butcher a chicken or pig in order to feed visitors; the term applies specifically to the feeding of visitors

3. Domang is an area where people have made rice fields and coffee plantations. It is about four kilometers south of Lubo, on the east side of the Tanudan River.

4. Seedling terms:

panar - rice seedling
papannaran - place where rice seedlings are usually planted, a sort of nursery: when the plants reach a certain size they are transplanted into the rice fields

7. Wet rice is planted twice a year. *Unoy*, a type of rice, is planted in February. It takes about seven months to mature and is harvested around June or July. *Oyak*, another type of rice, is planted in August or September. It takes only five to six months to ripen and is usually harvested in November.

Work season terms:

sareat - rest period following planting of rice seedlings
anareat - to be the rest period following planting of seedlings
kobaas - rest period following harvesting of rice
angobaas - to be the rest period following harvesting of rice
siput - work
insissiput - period for work

3 SA INON DA AM=MOMA
T,S way G,PL SF,NP=chew.betel.nut

THE WAY TO CHEW BETEL NUT

By Carmen Bulan

1. Ma=sapur=e awad man=tok=tokkom
SF,NP=need=LK EXT SF,NP=CVC,PL=pair

ak buwa, lawod, apur, kan ngatngat ya
N,S betel.nut lawod.vine lime CO tobacco CO

asi=ta ot am=moma. 2. Adi=pun
LIM=I,1,DL SEQ SF,NP=chew.betel.nut NEG=MOD

d=um=araag nu ip=pun de
red=SF,NP=__ HYP NEG,EXT,P=MOD N,S

osatta anna.
other/one:O,PL D1

1.*You need to have a complete set: betel nut, a leaf of the lawod vine, lime, and tobacco, and then we will be able to chew betel nut. 2. It will not turn red if one of these things is missing.

3. Ngani mangor=-an=ta gos ak
INT:G,S SF,NP:get=NR=II,1,DL ADD N,S

apur=e? 4. Da nan=dop-ag in.
lime=EMPH N,PL SF,P=make.lime CERT

5. Ngani inon=da anop-ag?
INT:G,S way=II,3,PL SF,NP:make.lime

6. Man=-apuy=da ya inn=igga=da
SF,NP=fire=I,3,PL CO ACCF,P=put=II,3,PL

aggung ta um=itak ya asi=da ot
aggung.snail CTG SF,NP=white CO LIM=I,3,PL SEQ

agay=e mang=-apuy. 7. Ma=abus kad
stop=LK SF,NP=fire SF,NP=finish UM

d=in=anum=an=da ya
water=P=__=RF=II,3,PL CO

im=badong=dak sin=-akit=an ta
ACCF,P=left=II,3,PL:N,S one=few=NR CTG

am=balin ak apur.
SF,NP=possible N,S lime

3. Where shall we get lime? 4. From those who make lime! 5. How do they make lime? 6.*They make a fire and put the aggung snail in it so that it will turn white, then they will put out the fire. 7. When it is finished, they pour water on the shell and leave it for awhile so that it will turn into lime.

8. Awad lawod=nu? 9. Annaya
EXT lawod.vine=II,2,S here.is

8. Do you have a leaf from the lawod vine? 9. Here is some

inn=atod Manao.
P=give(OF) Manao

that Manao gave me.

10. Sa buwa=na po? 11. Annaya
T,S betel.nut=II,3,S HORT here.is

go k=in=daw=kutta l=umm=aus.
ADD *beg*=P=__(OF)=II,1,S:0,PL *pass.by*=SF,P=__

10. And betel nut, too? 11. Here is some that I asked for from those who were going by.

Cultural notes for THE WAY TO CHEW BETEL NUT

1. *Moma* refers to the complete set of items needed to chew betel nut: a betel nut, a leaf from the *lawod* vine, some tobacco, and some lime made from snail shells. Chewing betel nut is often connected with social activities and occurs when friends get together for a chat, during work breaks in the fields, and during rest stops on long hikes. It is also engaged in when meeting a stranger along the trail. In this situation, it provides an excuse for chatting with the stranger to find out where he has come from and what he is doing. It also has significant importance in courtship. If a young man offers a young woman a betel nut and she accepts, then she has indicated that she will accept all the young man's advances.

The betel nut figures prominently in *ullalim*, a stylized song form in which the activities of traditional folk heroes are recounted. In one of these songs, the betel nut is used to revive the dead hero. In another song, the betel nut is eaten when no food is available and miraculously sustains the person who ate it.

6. Types of snails:

aggung - large snail with a hard shell that is conical-shaped with ridges and found in rice fields or in the river; it is the preferred snail for making lime because of its hard shell; *angaggung* - to gather *aggung* snails
binga - small snail used for food having a thin shell that is oval in shape and smooth; it is found in rice fields and in the river; *aminga* - to gather *binga* snails
lisdog - snail with a circular, ridged shell; it can also be used for making lime; *allisdog* - to gather *lisdog* snails
kabbibiyan - clam; may be used for making lime; *angabbibiyan* - to gather clams

4	SA	INON	NI	ANGWAK	KAPI
	T,S	way	G,S	SF,NP:do/make:N,S	coffee

THE WAY TO PREPARE COFFEE

By Ines Maslang

1.	Iy=asug=nu	de
	ACCF,NP=put.on.fire.to.cook=II,2,S	N,S

banga	wennu	parokpok	ya
clay.pot	ALT	large.frying.pan	CO

inn=igga=m	de	kapi.	2.	Oni	kad
ACCF,P:put=II,2,S	N,S	coffee		later	UM

in=kiwa=kiwag=nu.
ACCF,P=CVCV,REP=stir=II,2,S

1.*You heat a clay pot or skillet, and then you put in the coffee beans. 2. Then you stir it.

3.	Ilam	kad	nu	ng=um=itit
	see:OF,NP:II,2,S	UM	HYP	black=SF,NP=__

ya	b=um=angu,	asi=m	ot
CO	aromatic=SF,NP=__	LIM=II,2,S	SEQ

oppat=on.	4.	Oni	kad	in=ka
lift.up=OF,NP		later	UM	go=I,2,S

b=in=ayu	atte	lusung.
pound=P=__(OF)	O,S	mortar

3.*When you see that the coffee beans have turned black and have become fragrant, then you lift the pot off the fire. 4.*Then you go pound the coffee in a mortar.

5.	Ilam	kad	nu
	see:OF,NP:II,2,S	UM	HYP

ma=tam=tampuk,	asi=m	ot
SF,NP=CVC,INS=crush	LIM=II,2,S	SEQ

akud=on.	6.	Piom	kad=e
scoop.out=OF,NP		like/want:OF,NP:II,2,S	UM=LK

mangapi,	mangara=ka	ya
SF,NP:coffee	SF,NP:get=I,2,S	CO

in=utu=m.
P=cook(OF)=II,2,S

5. When you see that the coffee has become very fine, then you scoop it out. 6.*When you want to make coffee, you get it and cook it.

Cultural notes for THE WAY TO PREPARE COFFEE

1. Coffee is a cash crop for the people of Lubo. Coffee groves are planted on the sides of the mountains. The beans are harvested between November and March of each year.

Types of containers:

banga - clay pot (generic)
ammuwok - small clay pot used for cooking
laranggan - large clay pot used for storing rice or water
ammutu - large clay jar used for fermenting and storing wine
linga - container used for roasting food items
kandilu - metal pot (generic)
mortaba - a large metal pot shaped like an oversized Chinese wok
iisnaan - pot for cooking rice; the root is *isna* 'cooked rice'
kakappiyan - pot for making coffee; the root is *kapi* 'coffee'
titippoyan - pot for cooking *tipoy*, which is any food that accompanies rice at a meal
sosongragan - pot for roasting food; the root is *songrag* 'roast'; synonymous with *linga*

3. Types of smells:

ambangu - fragrant smelling
ambangtit - bad smelling: refers to waste products and garbage
ambuyuk - bad smelling: refers to decaying flesh

4. Pounding tools:

lusung - wooden mortar in which rice, coffee beans, and dried beans are pounded
or-u - long wooden pestle used with *lusung*

Types of pounding:

ang-ubbay - to pound coffee in a mortar to remove the skin of the coffee bean when it is first harvested
ambayu - to pound (generic); refers to rice, coffee beans, and dried vegetable beans

6. Cooking terms:

ang-utu - to cook (generic)
angapi - to make coffee; the root is *kapi* 'coffee'
ang-isna - to cook rice; the root is *isna* 'cooked rice'
anipoy - to cook *tipoy*, which is any food that accompanies rice at a meal.

5 SA	INON	DA	AM=BANNUP	BOGAS
T,S	way	G,PL	SF,NP=stock.up:N,S	pounded.rice

THE WAY RICE IS POUNDED AND STORED

By Carmen Bulan

1. Anne	ur=-ullit=ak	kanu	de
Dl:LK	CVC=story=OF,NP:II,1,S	RS	N,S

kopya=n	da	am=bannup
custom=LG	G,PL	SF,NP=stock.up:N,S

pogas=e	ko=ko-on	da
pounded.rice=LK	CV,CONT=do/make:OF,NP	G,PL

bo=bail	Lubo.	2. Nu
CV=female:L	Lubo	HYP

angwa=kanip
SF,NP:do/make=I,1,PL,EX:N,S

bogas=ni,	in=kani	yan	pagay
pounded.rice=II,1,PL,EX	go=I,1,PL,EX	LIM	EMPH

anigaarang	atta
SF,NP:get.rice.from.granary	O,PL

arang=ni	ya
granary=II,1,PL,EX	CO

im=bilag=ni	kan	init	onnu
ACCF,P=dry.in.sun=II,1,PL,EX	O	sun	ALT

i=suug=ni.	3. Siya
ACCF,NP=dry.over.fire=II,1,PL,EX	III,3,S

amilag=an=ni	da	batu.
SF,NP:dry.in.sun=NR=II,1,PL,EX	N,PL	rock

4. Ma=bilag	kad,	umm=oy=ni
SF,NP=dry.in.sun	UM	SF,P=go=II,1,PL,EX

inn=ara,	yakon	ip=pun	kad	init
P=get(OF)	ADV	NEG,EXT,NP=MOD	UM	sun

i=suug=nitte
ACCF,NP=dry.over.fire=II,1,PL,EX:O,S

suug=an	de	b=in=ayu=ni
dry.over.fire=NR	N,S	pound=P=__(OF)=II,1,PL,EX

1.*I am now going to tell you about the way that the women of Lubo usually pound and store rice. 2.*When we pound rice, we first go get rice from our granary and spread it in the sun or place it over the fire in the house to dry. 3.*We dry the unhusked rice on the stones in the sun. 4.*When it is completely dry we go and get it, but when there is no sun we place our rice on the rack above the fire until it is dry.

kigad=nak mu=utu.
extent=II,3,S:N,S SF,NP=cook

5. Ma=gangput kap pagay ma=bilag,
SF,NP=finish UM EMPH SF,NP=dry.in.sun

i=sarad=ni ye
ACCF,NP=start=II,1,PL,EX LK

an=sus-ur atte
SF,NP=pound.first.time.in.hide.container O,S

to=tortag=an=e gaddang,
CV=pound.first.time.in.mortar=NR=LK hide

yakon ip=pun kad
ADV NEG,EXT,P=MOD UM

to=tortag=an
CV=pound.first.time.in.mortar=NR

an=sus-ur=kani
SF,NP=pound.first.time.in.hide.container=I,1,PL,EX

pagay atte lusung. 6. Ma=abus=kani
EMPH O,S mortar SF,NP=finish=I,1,PL,EX

kad an=sus-ur,
UM SF,NP=pound.first.time.in.hide.container

t=in=op=-an=ni ya
winnow=P=__=RF=II,1,PL,EX CO

b=in=alla=an=ni. 7. Sadi
pound.second.time=P=__=RF=II,1,PL,EX D3

gos de k=um=agwe
ADD N,S second=SF,NP=__:LK

koon=ni nu ma=abus de
do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX HYP SF,NP=finish N,S

sus-ur.
pound.first.time.in.hide.container

8. Ma=balla=an kad,
SF,NP=pound.second.time=NR UM

t=in=op=-an=ni gos ya
winnow=P=__=RF=II,1,PL,EX ADD CO

5.*When it is dry we start to pound it in a container made of animal hide, but if there is no container we pound it in a mortar. 6. After we have finished pounding the rice for the first time, we winnow it and pound it a second time. 7. That is the second step we do when the first pounding is finished. 8. After the second pounding we winnow it again, and we start to pound it a third time. 9. After the third pounding of the rice, we pick out all of the unpounded grains as we winnow it. 10.*When the winnowing is finished we put the rice in special containers for storing rice. 11.*After we put it in the containers, we feed the bran to the pigs. 12.*That is the end of what we do, and each day we usually cook all that we have pounded.

in=sarad=ni gos=e
ACCF,P=start=II,1,PL,EX ADD=LK

an=dog-as. 9. Ma=gangput kap
SF,NP=pound.third.time SF,NP=finish UM

pagay mamin ma=dog-as,
EMPH SF,NP:all SF,NP=pound.third.time

iyy=ota=an=ni nu
P=unpounded.rice.grain=RF=II,1,PL,EX HYP

top=-an=ni. 10. Ma=abus kad
winnow=RF,NP=II,1,PL,EX SF,NP=finish UM

ma=top=-an, umm=oy=ni
SF,NP=winnow=__ SF,P=go=II,1,PL,EX

inn=iggatta bo=boggas=an.
ACCF,P=put:O,PL CV=pounded.rice=NR

11. Igga=ni kap pagay atta
ACCF,NP:put=II,1,PL,EX UM EMPH O,PL

bo=boggas=an=e sadi,
CV=pounded.rice=NR=LK D3

impa=kan=ni gos atta borok de
CAUS,ACCF,P=eat=II,1,PL,EX ADD O,PL pig N,S

uppok=na. 12. Abus pos ak
rice.bran=II,3,S finish HORT N,S

koon=ni de sadi ya
do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX N,S that CO

upan=ni il=lunug atte
HAB=II,1,PL,EX ACCF,P=prepare.and.cook O,S

in=orgaw de b=in=ayu=ni.
REP=day N,S pound=P=__(OF)=II,1,PL,E

Cultural notes for THE WAY RICE IS POUNDED AND STORED

1. Terms for rice:

pagoy - rice as a plant or unhusked rice
bogas - husked rice
binayu - husked rice; from the root bayu 'pound'
isna - cooked rice

2. Arang, or granaries, are usually built in rice fields. Harvested rice is stacked inside the granary and used as needed.

Terms related to drying:

ibilag - to spread something in the sunlight, specifically so that it can dry
suugan - a wooden rack suspended over a cooking fire in the house; unhusked rice, coffee beans, or other kinds of beans are placed on the rack to dry over the fire
isuug - to place something on a suugan 'rack'

3. Harvested rice is often spread out on large rocks near or in the rice fields to dry in the sun.

4. muutu - literally, 'to be cooked', from the root utu 'cook'; it also refers to the completion of processes such as drying rice or developing camera film.

5. Terms related to pounding rice:

lusung - a wooden mortar shaped like a large hour glass in which rice, coffee beans, or dried beans are pounded
or-u - a wooden pestle that is used for pounding in a mortar
gaddang - 1) the hide of a water buffalo or cow
- 2) a shallow container made of water buffalo or cow hide in which rice is pounded; it is also called totortagan
ambayu - to pound (generic); refers to the pounding of rice, coffee and dried beans
antortag - to do the first pounding of unhusked rice in which the grains, ota, are removed from the rice stalk, urut; rice is pounded in a container made of animal hide which is called a gaddang
ansus-ur - same as antortag, except that the pounding is done in the wooden mortar, lusung
amballa - to do the second pounding of rice in which more rice husk is removed; the rice is pounded in a wooden mortar
andog-as - to do the third and final pounding of rice; all rice husks should have been removed at the completion of this stage
antopa - to winnow; rice is winnowed after each pounding in a winnowing basket, lamnak

10. boboggasan - any container which is used specifically for storing husked rice, bogas; it may be a large clay jar which is called a laranggan, or a large metal container, kambung

11. uppok - fine bran which has been removed from rice grains during the pounding process; it is set aside to be fed to the pigs

dugi - coarser particles of rice husk which are also removed during pounding; it is usually used in the rice field as fertilizer

12. Food preparation terms:

ilunug - to put rice or any food in a pot in order to cook it; it also refers to the action of pouring prepared cement into wooden forms
ituyak - to pour liquid
danuman - to pour water; the root is *danum*, 'water'
isaang - to prepare food, put it in a pot, and place it on a cooking fire
iyasug - same as *isaang*
ampuut - to prepare and watch over food as it cooks

6 DA SISSIWA=N NI PAGOY
T,PL bless=LG G,S unhusked.rice

By Lungayat Manao

1. Annaya kad=e na=abus=da
here.is UM=LK SF,P=finish=I,3,PL

am=be=bebay, nan=si=siput da
SF,NP=CV,CONT=harrow SF,P=CV,CONT=work G,PL

tagu we na=gangput=da,
live/person LK SF,P=finish=I,3,PL

kan=de, "In=kayu oppos, Dagsun,
say=II,3,PL:LK go=I,2,PL HORT Dagsun

angiggak tomong=yu ta adi
SF,NP:put:N,S first.seedling=II,2,PL CTG NEG

gos lawing da pagoy nu siya gos
ADD bad N,PL unhusked.rice HYP III,3,S ADD

an=tomong da udum."
SF,NP=first.seedling N,PL other

2. Um=oy=da kad=e sadi
SF,NP=go=I,3,PL UM=LK D3

an=tomong, ma=b-ot=an kad as
SF,NP=first.seedling SF,NP=space=NR UM N,S

sin=-orgaw asi=dot um=oy dorag=an.
one=day LIM=II,3,PL:SEQ SF,NP=go next=RF,NP

3. Kan=kan=de, "Adi=taku yan
CVC,CONT=say=II,3,PL:LK NEG=II,1,PL,IN LIM

dorag=an te ag gorbiyan de umm=oy=da
next=RF,NP CAUS TI yesterday N,S SF,P=go=I,3,PL

nangigga=an." 4. Oni kad=e sadi
SF,N:put=NR later UM=LK D3

d=in=orag=an=da ya pitlu=wan kad anne
adjacent=P=__=RF=II,3,PL CO three=NR UM D1:LK

um=adu da um=oy an=-osok.
SF,NP=many N,PL SF,NP=go SF,NP=plant.rice

THE BLESSING OF THE RICE

1.*Since people have finished the harrowing in their fields they say, "Dagsun, you go and plant your first seedlings so that the rice will not be poor if the others plant first." 2. When Dagsun has planted his first seedlings--after a day has passed--then they will go and plant more seedlings. 3.*They will say, "Don't plant yet, because it was only yesterday that they planted the first seedlings." 4.*On the third day even more people will go and plant. 5. They will say, "Let's go plant seedlings because they have finished planting the first seedlings." 6.*And when all the people have planted their seedlings and the rice plants have matured, Dagsun will go again and get a handful of rice.

5. Kan=kan=de, "In=taku
CVC,CONT=say=II,3,PL:LK go=I,1,PL,IN

man=-osok te
SF,NP=plant.rice CAUS

inni=tmong=da." 6. Oni kad
ACCF,P=first.seedling=II,3,PL later UM

g=in=abbut da tagu we
busy.activity=P=__(OF) G,PL live/person LK

man=-osok ya ma=kwa kad da
SF,NP=plant.rice CO SF,NP=do/make UM N,PL

pagoy andi ye umm=oy os nangarak
unhusked.rice D3 LK SF,P=go ADD SF,P:get:N,S

sim=botok.
one=rice.measure

7. Duknag kos atte ani,
arrive UM:ADD O,S rice.harvest

kan=kan=dos=e, "In=kayu oppos
CVC,CONT=say=II,3,PL:ADD=LK go=I,2,PL HORT

an=tordaw, Dagsun, ta
SF,NP=harvest.first.rice Dagsun CTG

anapilat=kani ye udum tenne
SF,NP:new.rice=I,1,PL,EX LK other CAUS:D1:LK

ip=pun kan=on=ni." 8. Oni kad
NEG,EXT,P=MOD eat=OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX later UM

umm=oy os ak Dagsun nangarak
SF,P=go ADD N,S Dagsun SF,P:get:N,S

sim=botok ya s=in=ongrag=na go.
one=rice.measure CO roast=P=__(OF)=II,3,S ADD

9. Ma=bayu kad, k=in=an=dos=e
SF,NP=pound UM eat=P=__(OF)=II,3,PL:ADD=LK

sim=bory=an. 10. Oni kad=e sadi annos=e
own=house=NR later UM=LK D3 D1:ADD=LK

um=oy=da burn=an kan=e, "Na,
SF,NP=go=II,3,PL companion=RF,NP say=LK ATTN

7.*When it is harvest time they will say, "Go and harvest, Dagsun, so that we can harvest our new rice, because we have nothing to eat." 8.*Dagsun will go again to get a handful of unripe grains and then he will roast it. 9.*After it is pounded, the whole family will eat it. 10.*After that the people will go and join him saying, "Hey, let's go and harvest because Dagsun went and got his roasted rice." 11.*After the people get the new rice, they will say, "Hey, be careful not to scatter your rice stalks in the dumping place because it is forbidden to do that. Otherwise it will rain constantly, and there

in=taku man=-ani te umm=oy
go=I,1,PL,IN SF,NP=rice.harvest CAUS SF,P=go

pos kanu nangarak
HORT RS SF,P:get:N,S

duum=na." 11. Oni kad=e sadi
roasted.unripe.rice=II,3,S later UM=LK D3

ta anapilat os da tagu
CO SF,NP:new.rice ADD N,PL live/person

kan=kan=dos=e, "Na, ummaan=yu
CVC,CONT=say=II,3,PL:ADD=LK ATTN CAUT=II,2,PL

kad os dan urut=yu wa, ta adi
ADT ADD N,S:D1 rice.stalk=II,2,PL EMPH CTG NEG

gos mi=bon-ak attan pidong te
ADD SF,NP=scatter O,S:D1 dumping.area CAUS

paniyaw, ta adi gos al langit upan
taboo CTG NEG ADD L sky HAB

um=uda=udan te ip=pun
SF,NP=CVCV,CONT=rain CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD

upan=taku amilag=an." 12. Paniyaw
HAB=II,1,PL,IN SF,NP:dry.in.sun=NR taboo

te anna Anna=ng Ngatu we
CAUS D1 D1=LG up LK

an=-i=isdung=e nangwa kan
SF,NP=CV,CONT=look.down=LK SF,P:do/make O

ditaku we nangatod atte pagoy.
III,1,PL,IN LK SF,P:give O,S unhusked.rice

13. Oni kad=e sadi d=umm=uknag atte
later UM=LK D3 arrive=SF,P=__ O,S

ma=bayu=wana gos.
SF,NP=pound=NR:II,3,S ADD

14. Anapilatta kos
SF,NP:new.rice=I,1,DL UM:ADD

nangara=tak turu=n iting.
SF,P:get=I,1,DL:N,S three=LG rice.measure

will be no place to dry rice." 12.*It is forbidden because there is 'Someone Above' who is looking down upon us. He made us and gave us rice.

13. After that it is time for us to pound. 14.*When we will get new rice, we get three measures of it. 15. We will pound it carefully, and we observe all the prohibitions. 16. We say, "Hey, let's go get some taro leaves because that is what

15. Ummaan=tos=e amayu ya
CAUT=I,1,DL:ADD=LK SF,NP:pound CO

ing=ngilin=ta go.
ACCF,P=taboo=II,1,DL ADD

16. Kan=kan=ni gos=e, "Na,
CVC,CONT=day=II,1,PL,EX ADD=LK ATTN

in=taku angaratta lidoy ta
go=I,1,PL,IN SF,NP:get:O,PL taro CAUS

angkom=takutte
SF,NP=pair=I,1,PL,IN:O,S

s=in=apilat=taku te sa
new.rice=NR=__=II,1,PL,IN CAUS T,S

in=tut=tudu=n ni Anna=ng Ngatu we
ACCF,P=CVC=point=LG G,S D1=LG up LK

ma=tokm=an atte lidoy de s=in=apilat."
SF,NP=pair=NR O,S taro N,S new.rice=NR=__

17. Ya okod=ta gos isna=on de
CO LIM=II,1,DL ADD cooked.rice=OF,NP N,S

sadi ye s=in=apilat=e ab=-abus=na
D3 LK new.rice=NR=__=LK CVC,INS=only=II,3,S

ya punu=won=ta yan os de banga te
CO fill=OF,NP=II,1,DL LIM ADD N,S clay.pot CAUS

adi kanu mal=lakas de
NEG RS AJR=consume.quickly N,S

mangan=an=ta. 18. Sadi de kopya=n ni
SF,NP:eat=NR=II,1,DL D3 N,S custom=LG G,S

s=in=apilat=e kan=on=ta ya sa sadi
new.rice=NR=__=LK eat=OF,NP=II,1,DL CO T,S D3

ye pagoy=e i=lapu=n da
LK unhusked.rice=LK ACCF,NP=source=LG G,PL

al=la=rapu. 19. Al=losak de
AJR=CV,PL=source AJR=long.lasting N,S

angan=an=nitte pagoy.
SF,NP:eat=NR=II,1,PL,EX:O,S unhusked.rice

20. Adi=pun al=lakas de
NEG=MOD AJR=consume.quickly N,S

we pair with our new rice. The 'One Above' taught us to pair taro with our new rice." 17.*And we cook only new rice because it is the first time for us to cook the newly-harvested rice. We fill the pot because then what we eat will not be used up quickly." 18. That is the ritual of the new rice. It was started by its originators. 19. The rice we eat will last a long time. 20.*The rice will not be used up quickly because those who pray for the new rice will have blessed it, and the blessing is sent up above to Kabuniyan.

ma=kan=ana te anne sissiwa=on da
SF,NP=eat=NR:II,3,S CAUS D1:LK bless=OF,NP G,PL

an=si=sissiwa, kad miporyaw ang
SF,NP=CV,CONT=bless ADT CAUS,SF,NP:leave L

ngatu.
up

21. Sissiwa=on=da kad kan=de,
bless=OF,NP=II,3,PL UM say=II,3,PL:LK

"Anna pay akay Kabuniyan=e sissiwa=ok
D1 EMPH EMPH Kabuniyan=LK bless=OF,NP:II,1,S

nan s=in=apilat=ni. 22. Adi pay
N,S new.rice=NR=__=II,1,PL,EX NEG EMPH

al=lakas de ma=kan=ana.
AJR=comsume.quickly N,S SF,NP=eat=NR:II,3,S

23. Adi pay s=um=igab sim
NEG EMPH sick=SF,NP=__ O,S

buwang=ni. 24. Miy=ara=ka pay ak
stomach=II,1,PL,EX SF,NP=get=I,2,S EMPH N,S

luwang, borok, panay, ya
water.buffalo pig antique.Chinese.plate CO

ma=bungg=an=ka pay." 25. Sadi gangput ni
SF,NP=fruit=__=I,2,S EMPH D3 finish G,S

sissiwa=n ni s=in=apilat=e
bless=LG G,S new.rice=NR=__=LK

kay=kayapu we kan=da.
CVC,PL=prayer.for.bountiful.rice LK say=II,3,PL

21.*Whenever they pray for the rice, they say, "This is what I am praying for our new rice, Kabuniyan. 22.*May it last a long time. 23.*May it not be painful in our stomachs. 24.*May it buy water buffalo, pigs, and Chinese plates, and may there be something left over afterwards." 25. That is the end of the blessing of the new rice which is a set of prayers that we say.

26. Yak Kabuniyan kad kanu we
CO:N,S Kabuniyan UM RS LK

an=sissiwatte amiyan dam=ona kanu
SF,NP=bless:O,S rice.harvest sometimes RS

kan=ane, "Na, iy=yak ud atta
say=RF,NP:II,3,S:LK ATTN go=I,1,S PR O,PL

nampa=pangu wendi." 27. Um=oy
SF,P=CV,PL=hire.laborer LK:D3 SF,NP=go

26.*One time when Kabuniyan was saying the prayers during the harvest, he said, "Hey, I will go over there to those people who have hired laborers." 27. He went to the peole who had hired laborers, and he arrived with a walking stick in his hand.

kanutta ampa=pangu we tagu,
RS:O,PL SF,NP=CV,PL=hire.laborer LK live/person

wot d=umm=atong kanu we
SEQ arrive=SF,P=__ RS LK

anur=surkud. 28. Umm=abaya
SF,NP:CVC,CONT=walking.stick SF,P=peek.over

pun kanu, kan=ana kanu we, "Na, daw
SM RS say=RF,NP:II,3,S RS LK ATTN HORT

ta sissiwa=on=ta s=in=apilat=nu."
LK bless=OF,NP=II,1,DL new.rice=NR=__=II,2,S

29. Tupngar=ona kanos kane,
send.away=OF,NP:II,3,S RS:ADD say:II,3,S:LK

"Nii, na, in=kan ud. 30. Asi=n in
ADT ATTN go=I,2,S:OF,NP PR LIM=LG CERT

ina koon, piyanu abus=kos
mother do/make:OF,NP ADV only=I,2,S:ADD

elak angigammu." 31. Wot um=ayaw kanu
HORT:N,S SF,NP:know SEQ SF,NP=leave RS

we sadi, yot duknag kanutta duwe ulila.
LK D3 SEQ arrive RS:O,PL two:LK orphan

28. When Kabuniyan looked in he said, "Hey, let's say prayers for your new rice." 29. The man sent Kabuniyan away saying, "Go home, please. 30.*My mother will do it because you are not the only one who knows how to do it." 31.*So Kabuniyan went away, and then he came to two orphans.

32. Nam=pangu=da kanu, wot
SF,P=hire.laborer=I,3,PL RS SEQ

d=umm=uknag pun, kan=ana kanu, "Na,
arrive=SF,P=__ SM say=RF,NP:II,3,S RS ATTN

daw ta sissiwa=on=taku
HORT LK bless=OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN

s=in=apilat=yu." 33. Kan=da kanu we
new.rice=NR=__=II,2,PL say=II,3,PL RS LK

ang=guggug-u te ip=pun
SF,NP=CVC,CONT=scratch.head CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD

ama=da kan da ina=da, "Ni, daw
father=II,3,PL CO PL mother=II,3,PL ATTN HORT

pos ud ta koom.
HORT PR LK do/make:OF,NP:II,2,S

32. The orphans had hired laborers, and when Kabuniyan came, he said, "Hey, let's say prayers for your new rice." 33.*The orphans scratched their heads because they did not know what to do. They did not have a mother and father to show them what to do. So they said, "You do it. 34. You do it please. 35. We don't know how to do it." 36. So Kabuniyan did it. 37.*He put the uncooked rice in a small clay pot.

34. Koom ud ay.
do/make:OF,NP:II,2,S PR EMPH

35. Ip=pun ay igammu=ni."
NEG,EXT,P=MOD EMPH ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,EX

36. Koona kanu.
do/make:OF,NP:II,3,S RS

37. Iggana kanutte
ACCF,NP:put=II,3,S R,S:O,S

am=-ammuwok. 38. Adu adu kanu da
CVC,INS=small.clay.pot many many RS N,PL

p=in=angu=da.
hire.laborer=NR=__=II,3,PL

39. Kan=kan=da kanu we,
CVC,CONT=say=II,3,PL RS LK

"Pammos ay iggatte bam=ban-it
INT:II,2,S:ADD EMPH ACCF,NP:put:O,S CVC=small

de isna=m atte adu da
N,S cooked.rice=II,2,S O,S many G,PL

p=in=angnu=ni te babang=da
hire.laborer=NR=__=II,1,PL,EX CAUS lack=II,3,PL

pos kan=on." 40. Wot kan=ana kanu we
HORT eat=OF,NP SEQ say=RF,NP:II,3,S RS LK

sadi ye, "Gi=ginnok=kayu.
D3 LK CV,CONT=silent=I,2,PL

41. I=illan=yu kad=ot
CV,CONT=see:OF,NP=II,2,PL UM=SEQ

lamog=da kan=on." 42. Wot
more.than.enough=II,3,PL eat:OF,NP SEQ

nan=-akud pun kanu we saditte nu=utu ta
SF,P=scoop.out SM RS LK D3:O,S SF,P=cook CO

nangan da p=in=angu=da, atopay
SF,P:eat N,PL hire.laborer=NR=__=II,3,PL EMPH

kanu=n isna=de adu adu kanu
RS=LG cooked.rice=II,3,PL:LK many many RS

na=akud=an ni sadi ye
SF,P=scoop.out=NR G,PL D3 LK

38. They had many hired laborers. 39. The orphans said, "Why did you put the rice in a small pot? We have many hired laborers, and there will not be enough for them to eat." 40. So Kabuniyan said, "Just be quiet. 41. You will see. They will have enough to eat." 42. So then he scooped out what had been cooked, and the hired laborers ate it. They say lots of rice was scooped out from that small pot because it was Kabuniyan, who we say is God, who had prepared it. 43. So while the hired laborers ate Kabuniyan said, "Oh, may this rice of mine last a long time because our laborers will eat it."

sin=-ammuwok	te	ak	Kabuniyan	de
one=small.clay.pot	CAUS	N,S	Kabuniyan	N,S

umm=oy	nangwe	sa	Apudyus	we
SF,P=go	SF,P:do/make:LK	T,S	God	LK

kan=an=taku.	43. Nangan	pun	kanu	da
say=RF,NP=II,1,PL,IN	SF,P:eat	SM	RS	N,PL

p=in=angu=da	kan=ana
hire.laborer=NR=__=II,3,PL	say=RF,NP:II,3,S

kanu	we,	"Sika	akay	ta	adi	ma=amin
RS	LK	III,2,S	EMPH	LK	NEG	SF,NP=all

denne	isna=k	te	kan=on
N,S:D1:LK	cooked.rice=II,1,S	CAUS	eat=OF,NP

da	p=in=angu=ni."
G,PL	hire.laborer=NR=__=II,1,PL,EX

44. Al=lay=layad	kanu	gay	da	sadi
AJR=CVC,CONT=love	RS	EMPH	N,PL	D3

ye	ulila.	45. Kan=an=da	kanu	we,	"Ani,
LK	orphan	say=RF,NP=II,3,PL	RS	LK	ADT

gappiya	akay	ta	umm=ali=ka	te
thank.heavens	EMPH	LK	SF,P=come=I,2,S	CAUS

ip=pun	ay	igammu=ni."
NEG,EXT,P=MOD	EMPH	ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,EX

46. Kan=ana	kanu	we,	"Inggaw=kayu
say=RF,NP:II,3,PL	RS	LK	present=I,2,PL

tenne	na=nangput	de
CAUS:D1:LK	SF,NP=finish	N,S

pangu=yu.	47. Ip=pun
hire.laborer=II,2,PL	NEG,EXT,P=MOD

org=on=taku	koon	wot	anne
able=OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN	do/make:OF,NP	SEQ	D1:LK

iy=yak=on."	48. Kan=an	kanos	da
go=I,1,S=OF,NP	say=RF,NP	RS:ADD	N,PL

ulile,	"Nakay,	adi=ka	ud	ay.
orphan:LK	NEG	NEG=I,2,S	PR	EMPH

44. Those orphans were really happy. 45. They said, "Ahhh, thank heavens you came because we don't know how to do this." 46. Then Kabuniyan said, "You stay here because your hired work is finished. 47. There is nothing more to do so I will go home." 48. The orphans said, "No! please don't go. 49. Come down again tomorrow. 50. Please don't leave. 51. Come again tomorrow. 52. Please don't go, so that we can all stay together." 53. "I will go home. 54. What more can I do since I have already taught you the prayers for abundant rice?" said Kabuniyan, and then he left. 55. So whenever the orphans hired

49. An=-osog=ka pay os ap pigat.
SF,NP=go.down=I,2,S EMPH ADD TI tomorrow

50. Adi=ka ud ay um=ayaw.
NEG=I,2,S PR EMPH SF,NP=leave

51. Um=ali=ka pay os ap pigat.
SF,NP=come=I,2,S EMPH ADD TI tomorrow

52. Adi=ka ud ay um=ayaw ta
NEG=I,2,S PR EMPH SF,NP=leave CTG

inggaw=taku gay." 53. "Iy=yak=on.
present=I,1,PL,IN EMPH go=I,1,S=OF,NP

54. Ngani org=ok os koon
INT:G,S able=OF,NP:II,1,S ADD do/make=OF,NP

atte g=in=angput=ku in=tut=tudu
O,S finish=P=__(OF)=II,1,S ACCF,P=CVC=point

de kay=kayapu we sadi,"
N,S CVC,PL=prayer.for.bountiful.rice LK D3

yot um=ayaw kanu. 55. Wot andi ye
SEQ SF,NP=leave RS SEQ D3 LK

am=pangu=da kad kanu
SF,NP=hire.laborer=I,3,PL UM RS

inn=igga=da pay atte
ACCF,P=put=II,3,PL EMPH O,S

am=-ammuwok ya na=sawar pay ak
CVC,INS=small.clay.pot CO SF,P=extra EMPH N,S

k=in=an da p=in=angu=da
eat=NR=__(OF) G,PL hire.laborer=NR=__=II,3,PL

te anna umpay=e in=tut=tudu=na
CAUS D1 EMPH=LK ACCF,P=CVC=point=II,3,S

kayapu=n ni
prayer.for.bountiful.rice=LG G,S

pagoy=e sa al=losak=an ni
unhusked.rice=LK T,S AJR=long.lasting=NR G,S

ma=kan=an=e adi=pun ma=amin.
SF,NP=eat=NR=LK NEG=MOD SF,NP=all

laborers, they placed the rice in a small pot, and it was enough to feed their hired laborers. Because Kabuniyan had taught them the prayer for the rice. That is why the rice lasted a long time and was not used up quickly.

56. Kan-kan kanu da urpan
CVC,CONT-say RS N,PL HAB

nanupngar-e, "T-in-upngar-ni
SF,P:send.away-LK send.away-P-__(OF)-II,1,PL,EX

gos ela te kan-ni gos ele, 'Na,
ADD HORT CAUS say-II,1,PL,EX ADD HORT:LK ATTN

asi-n in da ina-ni
LIM=LG CERT G,PL mother-II,1,PL,EX

koon'. 57. Piyanu abus-kos
do/make:OF,NP ADV only-I,2,S:ADD

elak angwa de awad da
HORT:N,S SF,NP:do/make N,S EXT N,PL

ina-ni ye asi-da koon."
mother=II,1,PL,EX LK LIM-II,3,PL do/make:OF,NP

58. Anna pun-ot sabali ye tagu we sa
D1 SM-SEQ different LK live/person LK T,S

nangwa kan ditaku we umm-oy
SF,P:do/make O III,1,PL,IN LK SF,P-go

nangi-tut-tudutte losak ni
SF,P=CVC-point:O,S long.lasting G,S

pagoy we di-pun ma-amin. 59. Adu
unhusked.rice LK NEG=MOD SF,NP=all many

kanu gay da am=ba=bawi ye
RS EMPH N,PL SF,NP=CV=repent LK

kan-kan-da kanu we, "Na-toy ye ...
CVC,CONT-say-II,3,PL RS LK SF,P=die LK

in-ayag-ak otyan os ay te inggaw=e
P-call-RF:II,1,S OPT ADD EMPH CAUS present=LK

d-umm-atong kan sakon yakon
arrive-SF,P-__ O III,1,S ADV

p-in-oryaw=ku gos ela."
CAUS-P-__:leave(OF)-II,1,S ADD HORT

56. Those who sent Kabuniyan away said, "We made a mistake because we said, 'Hey, it is only our mothers who will do it. 57. You are not the only one who can do it; our mothers can do it, too'." 58. So then, Kabuniyan was a different kind of person because it was he who made us, who came to teach us how to have rice that will last a long time and will not be used up quickly. 59. They say many regretted what they had done, saying, "Curse it! We should have asked him to stay because he came to stay with us, but we just sent him away."

Cultural notes for THE BLESSING OF THE RICE

1. Terms related to cultivating rice:

andopos - to plow (generic)
alluwang - to plow with luwang 'water buffalo'
ampitur - to plow with bare feet
angkarutkut - to plow by breaking up soil with a gabyon 'long handled hoe'
ambebay - to harrow a rice field by having either people or water buffalo walk around the field
an-osok - to plant rice seedlings
an-ani - to harvest rice
tomong - the act of planting the first rice seedlings; it initiates the planting season
antomong - to plant the first rice seedlings
antotomong - a person who usually plants the first rice seedlings

Performing the tomong ritual is the responsibility of one clan in the village. Two other people in Dagsun's family also perform the ritual, but it is usually Dagsun who does it. The rituals are taught to each succeeding generation in the clan. The antotomong are usually older men and women who have no children, although younger people in the clan can perform the ritual if necessary. The antotomong goes to his rice field in the evening with a small number of rice seedlings. He plants a small number of seedlings, usually two seedlings in one hole. The next day he returns to the field and counts the seedlings. If there are an odd number of pairs of seedling plants, then it is a sign that there will be a good harvest. The belief is that if people plant before the antotomong has planted his first seedlings, the harvest will be poor; so everyone waits for him.

Another belief associated with the tomong ritual is that if someone dies immediately after the first seedlings are planted, there will be another death during the rice harvest. This series of events is called nakudiyatan.

3-4. Some people will plant seedlings two days after the antotomong has planted. Then the third day even more people will plant.

6. The literal meaning of makwa is 'to be possible' (from root kowa), but when referring to rice it means that the rice plants will be robust.

Rice is harvested by hand. The rice plants are cut one by one with a harvesting knife. The harvested plants are held near the heads of the stalks with one hand, between the thumb and the first finger. The number of rice plants which can be grasped in this manner is called a botok. When a botok of rice plants has been harvested, it is tied with a thin strip of bamboo called a danog. Later the botoks of rice are stored in granaries. The botok is the basic measure for harvested rice.

7. *Tordaw* is a ritual performed during the rice harvest. A person is selected to do the first harvest of the season. This can be the *antotomong* or anyone who is known to have good harvests. That person goes to the field and harvests a few of the ripe grains, picking the plants selectively and cutting off only the tops of the plants.

8-9. The same person as in the note to sentence seven returns to the field a second time and harvests more rice. This time he includes unripe grains of rice. He takes the unripe grains and roasts them so that they will become soft. Then his whole family eats the roasted rice. This is usually just a token meal since only a small amount of rice has been harvested this second time.

10. *duum* - new rice that is roasted and eaten during the *tordaw* ritual

11. The rice stalks of the new rice are bound together and hung from the eaves of the house. Normally rice stalks are discarded just outside the main entrances to the villages.

12. *Annang Ngatu*, 'the One Who is Above', refers to Kabuniyan, who is the primary god of Kalinga folklore.

14. Harvested rice is counted by a system used only for rice:

botok - amount of mature rice plants that can be grasped between thumb and first finger
iting - 6 *botok*
daran - 10 *iting*
puwak - 5 *daran*
uyun - 10 *daran*
nasorpungan - more than 10 *daran*
mandukug - more than 20 *daran*
nasap-awan - more than 10 *uyun*
nakimit - 20 *uyun*

17. The size of the clay pot is not important, even a small one can be used. However, the pot must be filled full of rice.

20. *Kaykayapu* is the specific name for prayers offered for rice so that there will be enough rice to eat until the next harvest.

21-24. These sentences are the actual words used for prayer. The prayer is used only for rice.

24. In the word mabungganka 'you be leftover', 'you' refers to rice and is an example of personification of an inanimate object.

26. Kabuniyan appears in different forms in various stories. In this story, he comes to earth as a ragged dirty old woman, which is why she is spurned by people when she offers them her help.

30. In this context, ina does not mean strictly 'mother', but any old woman, since prayers for rice are usually said by old men and women.

31. A person is considered an orphan, ulila, if one or both parents are dead. In this instance both parents are dead.

33. The orphans are scratching their heads because they do not know how to say the prayers for the rice, and they have no parents to do it for them.

37. ammuwok - small clay pot
am-ammuwok - very small clay pot; reduplication of root intensifies smallness of size

7 SA NA=KWA=AN NI PODON ATTE
T,S SF,P=do/make=NR G,PL peacepact O,S

DANDANI
old.days

By Alfredo Tombali

1. Sa awi attennak Kalinge
T,S long.ago O:Dl:L Kalinga:LK

igaw=ni, ip=pun podon te anna
place=II,2,PL NEG,EXT,P=MOD peacepact CAUS Dl

da man=su=sunud, anna da
N,PL AJR=CV,PL=sibling Dl N,PL

am=ping=pingsan ya da
AJR=CVC,PL=first.cousin CO N,PL

ang=a=agi. 2. B=umm=attawa
AJR=CV,PL=blood.relative move.away=SF,P=__

kad de a=agi=da ta
UM N,S CV,PL=blood.relative=II,3,PL CO

d=umm=atong=da mam=pig=pigwa,
arrive=SF,P=__=I,3,PL AJR=CVC,PL=second.cousin

anne i=sarad=de pupan
Dl:LK ACCF,NP=start=II,3,PL:LK HAB

al=lo=rawing. 3. Pupan=da
SF,NP=CV,CONT=bad HAB=I,3,PL

ang=gogognat. 4. D=umm=atong kad de
SF,NP=CV,CONT=kill arrive=SF,P=__ UM N,S

ose lunap,
other/one:LK generation

sim=s=im=mok=datte
CVC,CONT=think=P=__(OF)=II,3,PL:O,S

nanganup=da kan=an=e, "Ngani
SF,P:hunt.with.dogs=I,3,PL say=RF,NP=LK INT:G,S

inon os ela da anup=an=taku
way ADD HORT G,PL hunt.with.dogs=NR=II,1,PL,IN

THE MAKING OF THE PEACEPACT IN THE OLD DAYS

1.*Long ago here in Kalinga there was no peacepact because everyone was related. There were brothers and sisters, and there were first cousins. 2. When the blood ties grew more distant so that people became second cousins, that was when they started having trouble with one another. 3. They were killing each other. 4.*When the next generation arrived, they thought about their hunting, saying, "What will become of our food since we cannot follow the wild game?"

te anne ip=pun inon=taku we
CAUS D1:LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD way=II,1,PL,IN LK

anun-ud atta laman."
SF,NP:follow O,PL wild.pig

5. Da na=tagutte dandani ye
T,PL SF,P=live/person:O,S old.days LK

da Darug=e i=Lubo we da=daan=e
N,PL Darug=LK person.of=Lubo LK CV=old=LK

angak=-anup ya da Gamu we
NR=hunt.with.dogs CO N,PL Gamu LK

i=Dakaran, am=bu=busur=da.
person.of=Dacalan AJR=CV,PL=enemy=II,3,PL

6. Angwa kad de Darug=e um=oy
SF,NP:do/make UM N,S Darug=LK SF,NP=go

anganup, inggaw kad atte daran ta
SF,NP:hunt.with.dogs present UM O,S path CO

ang=kapit da asu=nad Dakaran,
SF,NP=direction N,PL dog=II,3,S:L Dacalan

adi=na pun pay dida t=in=un-ud
NEG=II,3,S MOD EMPH III,3,PL follow=P=__(OF)

te ma=kimut atta i=Dakaran.
CAUS SF,NP=afraid O,PL person.of=Dacalan

7. Angwa kad da i=Dakaran,
SF,NP:do/make UM N,PL person.of=Dacalan

aran=da kad de laman=na,
get:OF,NP=II,3,PL UM N,S wild.pig=II,3,S

inn=ara=da pay da asu. 8. Kamos
P=get(OF)=II,3,PL EMPH N,PL dog same:ADD

atta i=Lubo. 9. Um=oy kos de Gamu
O,PL person.of=Lubo SF,NP=go UM:ADD N,S Gamu

anganup, um=oy kos da
SF,NP:hunt.with.dogs SF,NP=go UM:ADD N,PL

asu=natte kapit al Lubo, inn=ara=n
dog=II,3,S:O,S direction L Lubo P=get(OF)=LG

5.*In the old days, there was Darug who was from Lubo, who was an old hunter, and Gamu who was from Dacalan. Darug and Gamu were enemies. 6. As it happened Darug went hunting. While he was on the path, his dogs went toward Dacalan. He did not follow them because he was afraid of the Dacalan people. 7.*As it turned out, the Dacalan people got his wild game and the dogs. 8. The same thing happened to the people from Lubo. 9. When Gamu went hunting, his dogs went towards Lubo. The Lubo people got his wild game and his dogs, too. 10.*Then it happened that Darug sent a message to Dacalan saying, "Gamu, let's prohibit the killing of the dogs. 11. People can get the wild game, but let's not include the dogs in the killing." 12.*Then they established the prohibition that whoever ruins a dog for hunting or kills a dog from Lubo or Dacalan will be punished by the enforcers, Gamu and

os da i=Lubo de laman=na ya
ADD G,PL person.of=Lubo N,S wild.pig=II,3,S CO

da asu=na. 10. Angwa kad denne
N,PL dog=II,3,S SF,NP:do/make UM N,S:D1:LK

Darug, nam=bilin ad Dakaran
Darug SF,P=verbal.instruction L Dacalan

kan=ane "Palit=an=ta,
say=RF,NP:II,3,S:LK prohibit=RF,NP=II,1,DL

Gamu, da asu. 11. Aran=da laman,
Gamu N,PL dog get:OF,NP=II,3,PL wild.pig

yakon adi=da da asu i=doga
ADV NEG=II,3,PL N,PL dog ACCF,NP=add

gongat=on." 12. Oni pun=e sadi,
kill=OF,NP later SM=LK D3

k=ing=wa=da palit: nu ngai
do/make=P=__(OF)=II,3,PL prohibit LK INT:G,S

anadail atte asu onnu angngat ela
SF,NP:destroy O,S dog ALT SF,NP:kill HORT

atte asu=n ni i=Dakaran onnu
O,3 dog=LG G,S person.of=Dacalan ALT

i=Lubo, i=sanga=n ni sane
person.of=Lubo ACCF,NP=prohibit=LG G,S D1:LK

amalit da Gamu kan Darug.
SF,NP:prohibit N,PL Gamu CO Darug

13. Na=palit=an pun, umm=adani=yan=da.
SF,P=prohibit=NR SM SF,P=near=NR=II,3,PL

Darug. 13.*When the prohibition was established, the people drew closer to each other in feelings.

14. Anna pos=e am=baru denne
D1 HORT=LK SF,NP=good N,S:D1:LK

ma=palit=an da asu, wot angwa
SF,NP=prohibit=NR G,PL dog SEQ SF,NP:do/make

kad da na=tagutte awi,
UM N,PL SF,P=live/person:O,S long.ago

kan=an=de "Ilan=yu gay ta
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK see:OF,NP=II,2,PL EMPH LK

14. This prohibition about the dogs turned out to be very good, and so the people said, "Let's see if we can apply the prohibition to people. 15.*Let's extend the prohibition to people since we cannot travel about to trade. 16.*We cannot go and buy what

koon=taku gay atta tagu.
do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN EMPH O,PL live/person

15. Palit=an=taku da anne
prohibit=RF,NP=II,1,PL,IN N,PL D1:LK

tagu, te anna pos=e ip=pun
live/person CAUS D1 HORT=LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD

inon=taku we am=baat.
way=II,1,PL,IN LK SF,NP=trading.trip

16. Ip=pun inon=taku we um=oy
NEG,EXT,P=MOD way=II,1,PL,IN LK SF,NP=go

ang=nginatta ma=sapur=takutta
SF,NP=buy:O,PL SF,NP=need=II,1,PL,IN:O,PL

udum=e ili te anna de pa=pa=toy,
other=LK place CAUS D1 N,S CV,PL=CAUS=die

anne an=asi=singon=taku."
D1:LK SF,NP=REC=afraid=I,1,PL,IN

17. Pupan=da kad ur=-ullit=an,
HAB=II,3,PL UM CVC=story=OF,NP

inggaw de sunud Darug=e ak Anay=e
present N,S sibling Darug=LK N,S Anay=LK

na=nangngor ya sa Bangngayon=e
CV,CONT=SF,P:hear CO T,S Bangngayon=LK

asawa=na. 18. Kan=de
spouse/marriage=II,3,S say=II,3,PL:LK

"Ilan=yu ud ay ta
see:OF,NP=II,2,PL PR EMPH LK

koon=taku ud ay atta
do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN PR EMPH O,PL

tagu de palit ni anne asu."
live/person N,S prohibit G,S D1:LK dog

19. Da Bangngayon kan Anay
T,PL Bangngayon CO Anay

an=-asawa=da. 20. Basig=da
AJR=spouse/marriage=I,3,PL childless=I,3,PL

we need in other places because there is fighting, and we are afraid of each other."

17. As they kept on discussing the idea, Darug's sister, Anay, and her husband, Bangngayon, listened to them. 18. Anay and her husband said, "Let's see if we can adapt the prohibition of the dogs to people."

19. Bangnayon and Anay were a married couple. 20.*Since they had no children, Anay usually travelled about trading and

pun, siya ko=ko-on Anay de
SM III,3,S CV,CONT=do/make:OF,NP Anay N,S

am=baa=baat ta
SF,NP=CVCV,REP=trading.trip= CTG

b=um=anyaga=ana.
rich=SF,NP=__=NR:II,3,S

21. Di=d=ing=ngor=na kad de
CV,CONT=hear=P=__(OF)=II,3,S UM N,S

pupan da Darug ugud=on=e palit da
HAB G,PL Darug talk=OF,NP=LK prohibit G,PL

asu, si=s=im=mok=na.
dog CV,CONT=think=P=__=II,3,S

22. Nam=baat kad ap Pangur tenna
SF,P=trading.trip UM L Pangul CAUS:D1

da Gawan=e ka=pigwa=na
N,PL Gawan=LK REC=second=II,3,S

kan=ane "Na, Gawan,
say=RF,NP:II,3,S:LK ATTN Gawan

ilam ay ta palit=an=ta
see:OF,NP:II,2,S EMPH LK prohibit=RF,NP=II,1,DL

da anne tagu, ta dikayu wenne
N,PL D1:LK live/person CTG III,2,PL LK:D1:LK

i=Pangur ma=kwa pay ye
person.of=Pangul SF,NP=do/make EMPH LK

mam=baat=kayu al Lubo, ta
SF,NP=trading.trip=I,2,PL L Lubo CTG

palit=ak dikayu. 23. Dikani
prohibit=RF,NP:II,1,S III,2,PL III,1,PL,EX

kos=e i=Lubo wenne umm=alip
UM:ADD=LK person.of=Lubo LK:D1:LK SF,P=come:L

Pangur, ma=kwos=e losan=kani pay
Pangul SF,NP=do/make:ADD=LK all=I,1,PL,EX EMPH

os am=baat ta
ADD SF,NP=trading.trip CTG

selling in order to become rich.

21. When she heard what Darug and his companions were saying about the prohibition on the dogs, she thought about it. 22. Then she travelled to Pangul, where her second cousins Gawan and his family were. She said to him, "Hey, Gawan, let's see if we can apply this prohibition to people. That way you people of Pangul can travel to Lubo to trade because I will be protecting you. 23. Then we Lubos will be able to travel to Pangul because you will be protecting us." 24. When Gawan understood Anay's proposal he said, "Yes, that would be possible, Anay."

palit=am os dikani."
prohibit=RF,NP:II,2,S ADD III,1,PL,EX

24. In=awat=an kad ni Gawan=e
P=understand=RF UM G,S Gawan=LK

i=Pangur, kan=ana "On,
person.of=Pangul say=RF,NP:II,3,S yes

ma=kwa de sanat, Anay."
SF,NP=do/make N,S D2 Anay

25. Nangwa kad ak Anay,
SF,P:do/make UM N,S Anay

kan=ane "Daw ta arak
say=RF,NP:II,3,S:LK HORT LK get:OF,NP:II,1,S

denne bangig=nu ta
N,S:D1:LK long.knife=II,2,S CTG

ten=ak denne kuwa=k=e
leave=OF,NP:II,1,S N,S:D1:LK own=II,1,S=LK

gaman, ta adi=pun ma=kwe
long.knife CTG NEG=MOD SF,NP=do/make:LK

i=gongat da i=Pangur atta
ACCF,NP=kill G,PL person.of=Pangul O,PL

i=Lubo tenna gaman=ku kan sika.
person.of=Lubo CAUS:D1 long.knife O III,2,S

26. Kamos atte gaman=nu.
same:ADD O,S long.knife=II,2,S

27. Di=pos ma=kwe i=gongat
NEG=MOD:ADD SF,NP=do/make:LK ACCF,NP=kill

da i=Lubo atta i=Pangur.
G,PL person.of=Lubo O,PL person.of=Pangul

28. Nang=-allasiw pu gaman=e
SF,P=exchange.weapons SM long.knife

am=ponn=an=ta, dita de
SF,NP=peacepact=REC=II,1,DL III,1,DL N,S

managu, amalit atta anne
SF,NP:live/person SF,NP:prohibit O,PL D1:LK

25.*After that, Anay said, "Let's arrange it so that I will take your knife and I will leave mine with you. In this way, the Panguls will not be able to use my knife to kill the Lubos because you will have it. 26. It will be the same for your knife. 27. The Lubos will not be able to use it to kill the Panguls. 28.*Since we have traded knives we will be the protectors of the Lubos and the Panguls." 29. So Anay established the peacepact throughout the whole region of Pangul. 30. When she arrived in Lubo, she told Darug and his companions who were leaders in Lubo. 31. Later on the people of Lubo agreed to try the arrangment.

i=Lubo ya da anne i=Pangur."
person.of=Lubo CO PL DI:LK person.of=Pangul

29. Wot p=in=onn=an Anay de
SEQ peacepact=P=__=RF Anay N,S

nampa=wangwang ap Pangur. 30. D=umm=atong
entire=downstream L Pangul arrive=SF,P=__

kad al Lubo, in=ur=-ullit=ana kan da
UM L Lubo P=CVC=story=OF:II,3,S O PL

Darug=e pa=pangat da i=Lubo.
Darug=LK CV,PL=leader G,PL person.of=Lubo

31. Oni pun in=on-on=an da i=Lubo
later SM P=agree=RF G,PL person.of=Lubo

we padas=on=da.
LK experience=OF,NP=II,3,PL

32. Osa pun=e orgaw umm=oy os
other/one SM=LK day SF,P=go ADD

nam=baat attenne kapit al Lubuagan
SF,P=trading.trip O,S:DI:LK toward L Lubuagan

te niip=pun l=in=awing da
CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD bad=NR=__ G,PL

i=Lubotta i=Mabungtut.
person.of=Lubo:O,PL person.of=Mabungtut

33. L=in=ipat=nam Mangali yat
detour=P=__(OF)=II,3,S:L Mangali CO:L

Taruktuk te na=gangput=da
Taloctoc CAUS SF,P=finish=I,3,PL

nal=lo=rawing. 34. D=umm=atong pum
SF,P=CV,CONT=bad arrive=SF,P=__ SM:L

Mabungtut, p=in=don=ana gos wot
Mabungtut peacepact=P=__=RF:II,3,S ADD SEQ

nam=puulil Lubo.
SF,P=return:L Lubo

32. Then one day Anay went traveling again. This time she went towards the Lubuagan side because there had never been any trouble between the Lubos and the people of Mabungtut. 33. She took a detour around Mangali and Taloctoc because the Lubos were already having trouble with those villages. 34. When she got to Mabungtut, she made a peacepact, and then she returned to Lubo.

35. Osa pun=e baat=na,
other/one SM=LK trading.trip=II,3,S

35. On another trading trip, when she was passing through

nangoy ad Mabungtut wot
SF,P:go L Mabungtut SEQ

ponn=anos ad Abrog yad
peacepact=RF,NP:II,3,S:ADD L Ablag CO:L

Daw-angan. 36. Na=gangput pun ay
Daw-angan SF,P=finish SM EMPH

ose baat=na,
other/one:LK trading.trip=II,3,S

kasin=nos b=in=aat ag
again=II,3,S:ADD trading.trip=P=__(OF) L

Guinan-ang wot ponn=anag
Guinan-ang SEQ peacepact=RF,NP:II,3,S:L

Guinan-ang. 37. Sadi kigad=natte sadi ye
Guinan-ang D3 extent=II,3,S:O,S D3 LK

um=ayaw ad lagud.
SF,NP=leave L northeast

Mabungtut, she made a peacepact with Ableg and Daw-angan. 36. Immediately after she finished her trading trip, she travelled again to Guinan-ang. 37. That was the end of her travels to the east.

38. Osa pun=e baat=na,
other/one SM=LK trading.trip=II,3,S

umm=oy ab Barangao, ap Panag, wot
SF,P=go L Balangao L Panag SEQ

wangwang=onab Barangao
whole.area=OF,NP:II,3,S:L Balangao

ponn=an. 39. Abus ak nangdon ap
peacepact=RF,NP only N,S SF,P:hold L

podon ak Anay. 40. Nam=baat pun
peacepact N,S Anay SF,P=trading.trip SM

attenne kapit at Tongrayan,
O,S:D1:LK direction L Tinglayan

k=iw=wa=nat Tongrayan de sane
do/make=P=__(OF)=II,3,S:L Tinglayan N,S D1:LK

podon. 41. Wot osa pun=e umm=oy os
peacepact SEQ other/one SM=LK SF,P=go ADD

kasin nam=baat, in=inggaw put
again SF,P=trading.trip P=present SM:L

38. On her next trading trip, she went to Balangao at Panag, and there she made a peacepact for the whole area of Balangao. 39. Anay was the only peacepact holder. 40. Then she travelled toward Tinglayan and made a peacepact at Tinglayan. 41. So the next time she went to Tinglayan to trade, she made a peacepact with Sumadel. That was the end of the making of the peacepacts.

Tongrayan, k=iw=wa=nas Sumador,
Tinglayan do/make=P=__(OF)=II,3,S:L Sumadel

wot am=patingatte sadi.
SEQ SF,NP=end:O,S D3

42. Oni pun asi yot da tagu
later SM LIM SEQ N,PL live/person

b=um=aru
good=SF,NP=__

an=-asi=baat=datta
SF,NP=REC=trading.trip=I,3,PL:O,PL

ili=datte sane p=in=don=an Anay.
place=II,3,PL:O,S D1:LK peacepact=P=__=RF Anay

43. Wot sadi nangi=ngadan=an=da attenne
SEQ D3 SF,P=name=NR=II,3,PL O,S:D1:LK

podon de sa ponn=an ya onn=an
peacepact N,S T,S peacepact=RF,NP CO hold=OF,NP

ni anne angdon de ma=tagu=wan
G,S D1:LK SF,NP:hold N,S SF,NP=live/person=NR

da tagu nu um=oy=da
G,PL live/person HYP SF,NP=go=I,3,PL

am=baat. 44. Wot sa anne patta=n
SF,NP=trading.trip SEQ T,S D1:LK by.laws=LG

ni podon, siya abus=e
G,S peacepact III,3,S only=LK

palit=an=da da tagu we
prohibit=RF,NP=II,3,PL N,PL live/person LK

p=um=a=toy da amin=e akaw atta
CAUS=SF,NP=__=die N,PL all=LK steal O,PL

paraksun da anne
inherited.wealth G,PL D1:LK

ponn=an=da. 45. Wot sadi de
peacepact=RF,NP=II,3,PL SEQ D3 N,S

na=kwa=na=an ni anne podon.
SF,P=do/make=MN=NR G,S D1:LK peacepact

42. Later on, when people grew more peaceful, they traded with each other between villages as a result of what Anay had done. 43. So that is why they named it the peacepact, the 'holding' and the 'keeping'. The peacepact holder 'holds' and 'keeps' people's lives when they go traveling about to trade. 44. Originally the by-laws of the peacepact only prohibited people from killing and from stealing the possessions of those who were in the peacepact. 45. So that was the making of the peacpact.

46. D=umm=atong kad de ose
arrive=SF,P=__ UM N,S other/one:LK

lunap=e pigwa=n di lunap, inggaw
generation=LK second=LG G,S generation present

ak Wangngiwang=e nangi=bunat kan
N,S Wangngiwang=LK SF,P=name.after.ancestor O

Wangngiwang=e namdon atte kigad at
Wangngiwang=LK SF,P:peacepact O,S extent L

Tomyangan um=ayaw at Tobog kan da Nanong
Tomyangan SF,NP=leave L Tobog CO PL Naneng

kan da Sadog te la=raki umpay=e
CO PL Sadog CAUS CV=male EMPH=LK

umm=apar atte sadi ye
SF,P=palm.of.hand O,S D3 LK

k=iw=wa=n ni sadi ye Anay=e
do/make=P=__(OF)=LG G,S D3 LK Anay=LK

bo=bai. 47. Sadi de kamak sarad ni anne
CV=female D N,S EMPH start G,S D1:LK

podon, de sa an=-asi=podon=da,
peacepact N,S T,S SF,NP=REC=peacepact=II,3,PL

an=-asi=b=um=aru=wan=da,
SF,NP=REC=good=SF,NP=__=NR=II,3,PL

an=-asi=baat=an=datta udum=e
SF,NP=REC=trading.trip=NR=II,3,PL:O,PL other=LK

ili. 48. Wot sa patta=na,
place SEQ T,S by.laws=II,3,S

l=in=unap kad di lunap de
generation=DIST=__ UM G,S generation N,S

umm=ayaw, asi=dot
SF,P=leave LIM=II,3,PL:SEQ

pa=baru=baru=won denne patta=n
CAUS=CVCV,REP=good=OF,NP N,S:D1:LK by.laws=LG

ni anne podon atte am=baru=wan ni
G,S D1:LK peacepact O,S SF,NP=good=NR G,S

losan=e ma=tagu=wan da
all=LK SF,NP=live/person=NR G,PL

46. In the next generation, which was the second generation, there was a man called Wangngiwang, who was named after his ancestor. He made peacepacts from the boundary of Tomyangan to Tobog, Naneng, and Sadog. He did this because he was a man and had been challenged by what Anay, who was only a woman, had done. 47. That marked the beginning of the peacepact, with people making peacepacts with each other, having good relations with each other, and trading with each other. 48.*When generation after generation had passed, it was only then that people began to improve the by-laws of the peacepact for the betterment of all who were under the peacepact. 49.*So the reason why they established the peacepact is that people could not trade with each other because of the custom of taking revenge on anyone who was an enemy. 50. This is how the peacepact was really made. 51. People took revenge even when the person was not related to the killer. If the person was from the same village as the killer, then they would take revenge on him because they were

tagutte ma=pdon=an=da.
live/person:O,S SF,NP=peacepact=NR=II,3,PL

49. Siya nangwa=an=datte
III,3,S SF,P:do/make=NR=II,3,PL:O,S

podon de ip=pun inon=de
peacepact N,S NEG,EXT,P=MOD way=II,3,PL:LK

man=-asi=baat attenne ugali=n da
SF,NP=REC=trading.trip O,S:D1:LK custom=LG G,PL

iy=awi ye ngan kad ay ni
person.of=long.ago LK INT UM EMPH G,S

ilan=de ka=busur de ki=ili
see:OF,NP=II,3,PL:LK REC=enemy N,S REC=place

g=in=ngat=da pay kan da
kill=P=__(OF)=II,3,PL EMPH CO PL

b=um=ors=an=da pay. 50. Sadi kamak
revenge=SF,NP=__=NR=II,3,PL EMPH D1 EMPH

na=kwa=na=an ni anne podon.
SF,P=do/make=MN=NR G,S D1:LK peacepact

51. An=-asi=baros=da gela takon ela nu
SF,NP=REC=revenge=I,3,PL HORT CONC HORT LK

dakon ak agi=da, nu
NEG N,S blood.relative=II,3,PL LK

ki=ili=yana i=baros=da
REC=place=NR:II,3,S ACCF,NP=revenge=II,3,PL

te pa=toy. 52. Sadi kamat
CAUS CAUS=die D3 EMPH

nangwa=an=datte sadi ye podon
SF,P:do/make=NR=II,3,PL:O,S D3 LK peacepact

de adi gos ay ma=tipod de
N,S NEG ADD EMPH SF,NP=hinder N,S

um=oy=da pay mangil=-an ak
SF,NP=go=I,3,PL EMPH SF,NP:see=NR N,S

ma=bar=balin=datte ka=sapur=an ni
SF,NP=CVC,PL=invest=II,3,PL:O,S AB=need=__ G,S

ma=tagu=wan=da. 53. Sana de
SF,NP=live/person=NR=II,3,PL D1 N,S

having tribal wars.

52. The reason that they made the peacepact is so that people would not be hindered in going to search for their daily needs and in pursuing their investments.

53. This is how the peacepact was established.

na=kwa=na=an ni anne podon.
SF,P=do/make=MN=NR G,S D1:LK peacepact

Cultural notes for THE MAKING OF THE PEACEPACT IN THE OLD DAYS

1. awi - long ago; synonymous with dandani, 'old days'

The podon, or peacepact, is a Kalinga institution. It is a formal agreement between villages guaranteeing protection of life and property to those who are covered by the peacepact.

4. The literal meaning of laman is 'wild pig'; however, in this context it takes on the extended meaning of 'wild game'.

5. The addition of the prefix i- before a place name means 'a person from that place'. For example, iLubo is a 'person from Lubo'.

7. The term innara 'got' implies that the dogs were killed as well as the wild game.

10. Bilin, the root for nambilin, is an instruction, order, or message which is issued verbally.

12. The phrase anadail atte asu 'to destroy the dog', means to ruin a dog for hunting. A dog can be ruined for hunting when another person feeds it a piece of liver from wild game. After that the dog will only hunt for the person who fed it. The dog is now useless to its original owner for catching wild game.

13. Ummadaniyanda 'they drew closer together' refers to the closeness of relations or feelings between the people of Lubo and Dacalan.

15. The original meaning of ambaat is 'to travel about in order to trade'. This is the sense in which it is used in this text. Today the word has taken on a more general meaning 'to travel' without the additional connotation of trading.

16. In papatoy 'fights' the reduplication of the root of patoy 'fight' indicates plurality.

The infix -asi- as in an-asisingontaku 'our fear of each other' is added to a verb to show reciprocal action.

20. banyagaan - rich due to one's own efforts to accumulate wealth
baknang - rich due to inherited wealth

25. The exchange of long knives is a figurative gesture. First, the prohibition applies to all weapons that can be used to harm people. Second, the idea behind the exchange of long knives is that a Lubo long knife cannot be used to kill a person from Lubo, and a Pangul long knife cannot be used to kill someone from Pangul. Thus both groups would be protected when they travelled to the other village; gaman - long knife, synonymous with bangig.

28. There are three stages in forming a peacepact between two villages. The allasiw is the first stage in making a new peacepact. Two people from separate villages meet in a third neutral place and exchange weapons at the neutral location, as a sign of initiating a peacepact.

The sipat is another way of initiating a new peacepact. In the sipat, two people from separate villages meet in the village of one of the two people, and exchange weapons. The sipat is also the name for the first stage in reestablishing a previously severed peacepact. In this case, a new peacepact holder is selected from the immediate family that has been wronged. Weapons are exchanged once again between the peacepact holders.

The surdip is the second stage in making a peacepact. A party of representatives from one village goes to the second village to discuss terms for the peacepact.

Simsim is another name used for the second stage of the peacepact and is synonymous with surdip. The literal meaning of simsim is 'taste'.

The inum is the third stage in making a peacepact. In the inum, the two villages get together for a big celebration. The literal meaning of inum is 'drink'.

48. The patta are the by-laws of the peacepact. As mentioned in sentence 44, the original by-laws only prohibited killing people and stealing their possessions. Later the by-laws were extended to cover a greater number of crimes such as pot-ak, intentionally killing or wounding someone; awat, accidentally killing or wounding someone; sokwaw, crimes against women (including rape); akaw, stealing property; ibit, betraying someone to his enemy by physically guiding the enemy to where the person is staying; and tuyuk, betraying a person to his enemy by giving verbal information to the enemy of the person's whereabouts.

49. Kabusur 'enemy' and kiili 'outsider' are essentially synonymous in this context since an outsider would be an enemy.

8	NGAI	INON	NI	TAGU	WE
	INT:G,S	way	G,S	live/person	LK

ANG=GODONG=E	MA=TAGU
SF,NP=straight=LK	SF,NP=live/person

HOW A PERSON LIVES A RIGHTEOUS LIFE

By Alfredo Tombali

1.	Annaya	de	ku=ur=-ullit=an	ni
	here.is	N,S	AB=CVC=story=__	G,S

in=-inon	ni	tagu	we
CVC,CONT=way	G,S	live/person	LK

mang=godong=e	ma=tagu.	2.	Annaya
SF,NP=straight=LK	SF,NP=live/person		here.is

de	turu=n	kumangaan=e
N,S	three=LG	standard=LK

ang=gong=gongng=an	da
SF,NP=CVC,INS=straight=NR	G,PL

ma=tagu	sa	paniyaw,	sa	ngilin,	sa
SF,NP=live/person	T,S	taboo	T,S	taboo	T,S,

biin.	3.	Tennaya	de	in=-inon	ni
respect		CAUS:here.is	N,S	CVC,CONT=way	G,S

tagu	we	ma=tagu	nu	miid
live/person	LK	SF,NP=live/person	HYP	NEG,EXT,NP

ngilin	ni	tagu,	ip=pun
taboo	G,S	live/person	NEG,EXT,P=MOD

biin=na,	ip=pun	paniyaw=ona.
respect=II,3,S	NEG,EXT,P=MOD	taboo=OF,NP:II,3,S

4.	Sa	kan=an=da	kan	siya
	T,S	say=RF,NP=II,3,PL	O	III,3,S

"Dakom=put	tagu."	5.	Sadi	in=-inon	ni
NEG=MOD:N,S	live/person		D3	CV,CONT=way	G,S

tagu	we	ang=godong=e
live/person	LK	SF,NP=straight=LK

ma=tagu,	ta	nu	ngai	tagu	we
SF,NP=live/person	CTG	LK	INT:G,S	live/person	LK

1.*Here is the way for a person to live righteously. 2.*There are three standards by which a person lives his life: paniyaw, the act of observing taboos which are punishable by death; ngilin, the act of observing taboos which are punishable by misfortune; biin, the act of having respect for others. 3. This is how a person should live because if he has no ngilin, then he has no biin or paniyaw. 4. They will say, "He is not a person." 5. This is how a person will live righteously, because whoever lives by these three standards -- namely if he has paniyaw, if he has ngilin, if he has biin--he will live righteously his whole life and will be respected by his fellowmen. 6. I am telling you this so that anyone who listens will be able to improve his life by these standards and will live righteously.

i=ka=tagu=natte
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,3,S:O,S

ma=tagu=wana denne turu=n
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,3,S N,S:Dl:LK three=LG

ka=kumangaan=e sa awad pay paniyaw=na, anna
NR=standard=LK T,S EXT EMPH taboo=II,3,S Dl

ngilin=na, anna biin=na,
taboo=II,3,S Dl respect=II,3,S

mang=go=goddong=e ma=tagutte
SF,NP=CV,CONT=straight=LK SF,NP=live/person:O,S

ma=tagu=wana, ya ma=biin=an
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,3,S CO RF,NP=respect=__

da ka=sin=ta=tagu=na. 6. Sa
G,PL REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,3,S T,S

angur=-ullit=ak attenna de awag gad
SF,NP:CVC=story=I,1,S O,S:Dl N,S EXT UM

angngor, i=baru=na otyatte
SF,NP:hear ACCF,NP=good=II,3,S OPT:O,S

ma=tagu=wana ta oni pay
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,3,S CTG later EMPH

mang=godong=e ma=tagu.
SF,NP=straight=LK SF,NP=live/person

7. Sa anne ma=paniyaw, nu
T,S Dl:LK SF,NP=taboo HYP

i=ka=tagu=n ni tagu,
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=LG G,S live/person

mang=go=goddong=e ma=tagu
SF,NP=CV,CONT=straight=LK SF,NP=live/person

te adu denne itt=on ni paniyaw atta
CAUS many N,S:Dl:LK give=OF,NP G,S taboo O,PL

b=um=aru=wan ni tagu we
good=SF,NP=__=NR G,S live/person LK

ma=tagu, tennaya alig=na
SF,NP=live/person CAUS:here.is example=II,3,S

7.*In respect to paniyaw, if a person has paniyaw, he will live righteously because there are many ways in which paniyaw will improve his life because paniyaw prohibits many things. For example, they say "It is forbidden to steal a chicken because it raises its head when it drinks. 8.*It is forbidden to steal unhusked rice because it will make one's stomach burst.

sa anne paniyaw, adu de
T,S D1:LK taboo many N,S

i=palit=na te sa
ACCF,NP=prohibit=II,3,S CAUS T,S

kan=an=da "Paniyaw de
say=RF,NP=II,3,Pl taboo N,S

akaw=on=ta manuk te an=tangad
steal=OF,NP=II,1,DL chicken CAUS SF,NP=upright

de um=inum. 8. Paniyaw de
N,S SF,NP=drink taboo N,S

akaw=on=ta de pagoy te
steal=OF,NP=II,1,DL N,S unhusked.rice CAUS

b=um=tak atte buwang. 9. Paniyaw
burst=SF,NP=__ O,S stomach taboo

akaw=on=ta barat te an=dagson.
steal=OF,NP=II,1,DL banana CAUS AJR=heavy

10. Paniyaw ela aran=ta de
taboo HORT get:OF,NP=II,1,DL N,S

daddat da payaw da
large.flat.stone G,PL rice.field G,PL

ka=sin=ta=tagu=ta te
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,1,DL CAUS

man=dagson." 11. Adi=ta pun=e tagu
AJR=heavy NEG=I,1,DL MOD=LK live/person

al=lagit te paniyaw.
SF,NP=antisocial.behavior CAUS taboo

12. Adi=ta pun ela da ina=ta
NEG=II,1,DL MOD HORT N,PL mother=II,1,DL

mal=liw=liw-an onnu
OF,NP=CVC,CONT=harm:__ ALT

katuganga=ta upan subog=on te
parent.in.law=II,1,DL HAB argue=OF,NP CAUS

ma=biin. 13. Adi=ta pun ele
SF,NP=respect NEG=I,1,DL MOD HORT:LK

tagu upan man=sam=samkuy te
live/person HAB SF,NP=CVC,CONT=despise CAUS

9.*It is forbidden to steal bananas because they are heavy. 10.*It is forbidden to take large stones from our neighbors' fields because they are heavy." 11.*We should not commit wrongs that show complete disregard for others because it is forbidden. 12.*We should not cause our mothers trouble or argue constantly with our in-laws because it is disrespectful. 13. We people should not despise others because it is disrespectful. 14.*There are many things that the taboos prohibit. For example, it is also forbidden to constantly talk about sex, because why should you keep on talking about where you came from? 15. There are many things that are prohibited by paniyaw and biin. 16. If a person lives his whole life by these standards, he will live righteously. 17. If during your lifetime you really live in accordance with these standards, you will live honorably and you will be praised by your fellowmen.

ma=biin. 14. Adu da anne
SF,NP=respect many N,PL D1:LK

i=palit da paniyaw te paniyaw os
ACCF,NP=prohibit G,PL taboo CAUS taboo ADD

de upan=ta gela an=-ugu=ugud atta
N,S HAB=I,1,DL HORT SF,NP=CVCV,REP=talk O,PL

kiissaw te ngan kanu ta upam os ela
dirt CAUS INT RS LK HAB:II,2,S ADD HORT

ugud=on de morpu=wam. 15. Sana
talk=OF,NP N,S SF,NP:origin=NR:II,2,S D1

da adu we i=palit ni paniyaw kan
N,PL many LK ACCF,NP=prohibit G,S taboo CO

biin. 16. Nu sa tagu we
respect HYP T,S live/person LK

mangi=ka=tagutte
SF,NP=MN=live/person:O,S

ma=tagu=wanatta sadi ye
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,3,S:O,PL D3 LK

ni=i=baga mang=godong=e
SF,P=CV,??=tell SF,NP=straight=LK

ma=tagu 17. Sa anne paniyaw, te
SF,NP=live/person T,S D1:LK taboo CAUS

kopya=n ni ma=tagu=ta, nu
act=LG G,S SF,NP=live/person=II,1,DL HYP

i=ka=tagu=m tut=tuwe
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,2,S CVC=true:LK

ma=tagu=ka kap pagay,
SF,NP=live/person=I,2,S UM EMPH

am=baru=ka ya i=dayaw dikatta
SF,NP=good=I,2,S CO ACCF,NP=praise IV,2,S:O,PL

ka=sin=ta=tagu=m.
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,2,S

18. Annayos de itt=on ni anne
here.is:ADD N,S give=OF,NP G,S D1:LK

18. There are a number of things that ngilin does for you.

ngilin. 19. Sa ngilin awag gotyan de adi=n
taboo T,S taboo EXT UM:OPT N,S NEG=LG

ni paniyaw pa=kwa, ngilin=om
G,S taboo CAUS=do/make taboo=OF,NP:II,2,S

te kan=an=de ma=ngilin.
CAUS say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK SF,NP=taboo

20. Adi=m pay ela mam maag
NEG=II,2,S EMPH HORT CERT ever

dag=dagas=an da
CVC=pick.up.temporarily=RF,NP N,PL

ka=pigwa=m kan da
REC=second=II,2,S CO N,PL

agi=m. 21. Ang=ngilin=ka
blood.relative=II,2,S SF,NP=taboo=I,2,S

pay atta katti. 22. Awag gad de
EMPH O,PL like.this EXT UM N,S

ka=podon=nu, adi=m pay patut
REC=peacepact=II,2,S NEG=II,2,S EMPH try

dag=dagas=an te ma=ngilin te
CVC=take.along=RF,NP CAUS SF,NP=taboo CAUS

isu=nan
same=II,3,S:OF,NP

bug-uy=om de
break.peacepact.intentionally=OF,NP:II,2,S N,S

podon=nu. 23. Amod gay kan
peacepact=II,2,S too.much EMPH O

sike sing=ka=puun=e mangdon
III,2,S:LK own=REC=tree.trunk=LK SF,NP:hold

atte podon. 24. Adu da anne itt=on
O,S peacepact many N,PL D1:LK give=OF,NP

ni ngilin atte ma=tagu=wan=te
G,S taboo O,S SF,NP=live/person=NR=II,1,DL:LK

ma=tagu.
SF,NP=live/person

19. In respect to *ngilin*, whenever there is anything that *paniyaw* prohibits you from doing, you refrain from doing it because they say it is forbidden as a *ngilin* taboo. 20.*You should never have a love affair with your second cousins and your relatives. 21. You should refrain from doing these things. 22.*Whenever you have a copeacepact holder, you should never have a love affair with them because it is forbidden. It is as if you intentionally broke the peacepact. 23. This is especially so for you who are related by blood to the holder of the peacepact. 24. There are many things that *ngilin* does for you during your lifetime.

25. Sa anne biin, sa
T,S D1:LK respect T,S

kan=an=datte dandani,
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:O,S old.days

"Tagu=ka pun ma=biin=ka."
live/person=I,2,S SM SF,NP=respect=I,2,S

26. Sa kan=an=da go nu baknang=ka
T,S say=RF,NP=II,3,PL ADD HYP rich=I,2,S

ad=-adu=wom de
CVC,INS=many=OF,NP:II,2,S N,S

biin=nutte l=um=awa te sanat
respect=II,2,S:O,PL poor=SF,NP=__ CAUS D2

da l=um=awa e mangilang-ad kan sika
N,PL poor=SF,NP=__ LK SF,NP:rise O III,2,S

kan mangi=dayaw kan sika nu
CO SF,NP=praise O III,2,S HYP

ad=-adu=wom de kamak
CVC,INS=many=OF,NP:II,2,S N,S EMPH

biin=nutta dakom=put pangtad ni
respect=II,2,S:O,PL NEG=MOD:N,S position G,S

kina=ta=tagu=m. 27. Ya sika
AB=CV,PL=live/person=II,2,S CO III,2,S

kos=e kutlanga ad=-adu=wom
ADT:ADD=LK poor CVC,INS=many=OF,NP:II,2,S

os de biin=nu ta oni pay
ADD N,S respect=II,2,S CTG later EMPH

ka=dagu=wan dika gos atta
AB=pity=__ IV,2,S ADD O,PL

ka=sin=ta=tagu=m. 28. Sana de
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,2,S D1 N,S

in=-inon ni turu=n kumangaan=e
CVC,CONT=way G,S three=LG standard=LK

i=baru=n da ma=tagu te nu
ACCF,NP=good=LG G,PL SF,NP=live/person CAUS HYP

sa tagu we angi=ka=taguttenna
T,S live/person LK SF,NP=MN=live/person:O,S:D1

25. As for biin, in the past people would say, "Since you are a person, you should show respect for others." 26. They would also say, "If you are rich you should have even greater respect for the poor, because it is the poor who support you and who will show you respect if you show even greater respect toward those who are not on your social level." 27. Now then, you who are poor, you should show even greater respect so that your fellowmen will have compassion for you in return. 28. This is how the three standards will improve people's lives, because if a person lives this way he will live righteously, and he will never be talked about or despised by his fellowmen.

mang=go=goddong=e ma=tagu ya
SF,NP=CV,CONT=straight=LK SF,NP=live/person CO

niip=pun mu=ugud=anatta
NEG,EXT,P=MOD SF,NP=talk=NR:II,3,S:O,PL

ka=sin=ta=tagu=na ya
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,3,S CO

niip=pun ma=samkuy=ana.
NEG,EXT,P=MOD SF,NP=despise=NR:II,3,S

29. Oni kad=e sadi pasig pagay=e
later UM=LK D3 always EMPH=LK

kan=an=de "Siya kammiin de
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK III,3,S EMPH N,S

tagu wendi" te am=baru de
live/person LK:D3 CAUS SF,NP=good N,S

na=tagu=wana. 30. Am=baru te
SF,P=live/person=NR:II,3,S SF,NP=good CAUS

anna pay da paniyaw=na. 31. Anna de
D1 EMPH N,PL taboo=II,3,S D1 N,S

ngilin=na. 32. Anna biin=na.
taboo=II,3,S D1 respect=II,3,S

33. Wot nu ma=tagu=ka
SEQ HYP SF,NP=live/person=I,2,S

ma=sapur otyan pagay=e
SF,NP=need OPT EMPH=LK

i=ka=tagu=m atte
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,2,S O,S

ma=tagu=wam denne turu.
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,2,S N,S:D1:LK three

34. Sadi kan=an da na=tagutte
D3 say=RF,NP G,PL SF,P=live/person:O,S

awi. 35. Nu miid paniyaw ni
long.ago HYP NEG,EXT,NP taboo G,S

tagu, ip=pun ngilin=na,
live/person NEG,EXT,P=MOD taboo=II,3,S

29. Later on they will say, "That person lives properly," because he has lived well his whole life. 30. It will be good because he has paniyaw. 31. He has ngilin. 32. He has biin.

33. Therefore you should live by these three standards. 34. That is what people said long ago. 35. If a person had no paniyaw, no ngilin, no biin, they would say, "He is not a person." 36. Where could you find a person like that who has no ngilin, no biin, and no paniyaw? 37. If you are going to live by what your forefathers said, you must live your life by these three standards. 38. This is how our forefathers lived in

ip=pun biin=na, sa
NEG,EXT,P=MOD respect=II,3,S T,S

kan=an=da "Dakom=pun oppet
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL NEG=MOD HORT:N,S

tagu naoy." 36. Dinos ela tagu
live/person D1 INT:ADD HORT live/person

we katnat=e ip=pos ela gudas
LK like.that=LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD:ADD HORT any

ngilin=na kan da biin=na kan da
taboo=II,3,S CO N,PL respect=II,3,S CO N,PL

paniyaw=na? 37. Nu
taboo=II,3,S HYP

ma=tagu=taku, sadi kan=an da
SF,NP=live/person=I,1,PL,IN D3 say=RF,NP G,PL

na=tagutte awi
SF,P=live/person:0,S long.ago

i=ka=tagu=yu mam pagay atte
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,2,PL CERT EMPH 0,S

biyag=yu de sane turu. 38. Sana de
life=II,2,S N,S D1:LK three D1 N,S

in=-inon da na=tagutte
CVC,CONT=way G,PL SF,NP=live/person:0,S

dandani ye daam=pun ni anne
old.days LK NEG=MOD G,S D1:LK

kan=an=da e kina=kristiyanu duknag=an.
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL LK AB=Christian arrive=NR

39. Sana de in=-inon da
D1 N,S CVC,CONT=way G,PL

mang=godong=e ma=tagu de
SF,NP=straight=LK SF,NP=live/person N,S

i=ka=tagu=da pay atte
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,3,PL EMPH 0,S

biyag=da de sane turu.
life=II,3,PL N,S D1:LK three

the past before what they call Christianity arrived. 39. This is how the righteous live: they live their lives by these three standards.

Cultural notes for HOW A PERSON LIVES A RIGHTEOUS LIFE

1. The literal meaning of manggodong is 'straight'; however, the phrase manggodonge matagu means 'to live righteously'.

2. Paniyaw and ngilin are the acts of observing prohibitions. Paniyaw refers to prohibitions which are stronger than those that come under the category of ngilin. To fail to observe a paniyaw prohibition conveys a sense of being sacrilegious. The consequences of failing to observe paniyaw prohibitions are more severe than those covering ngilin prohibitions and usually imply death for the person who does not follow the prohibition. The consequences of failing to observe ngilin prohibitions are misfortunes such as a poor harvest, sickness, or the loss of a domestic animal. Biin is the act of showing respect towards others.

7. Stealing chickens is prohibited because a chicken raises its head to drink as though it is praying to God. The consequence of breaking this prohibition is that the person will be beheaded like a chicken.

8. If a person steals rice, his stomach will swell and he will die.

9-10. If a person steals bananas or the large rocks that form part of the dikes in the rice fields, he will get sick and his body will feel heavy. It is likely that he will die.

11. Allagit means to behave in a way that shows total disregard for others, such as urinating in a common water source.

12. A person who argues with his in-laws will die young. Relationships between parents-in-law and children-in-law are the only taboo kinship relationships in Lubo. They are surrounded by a number of prohibitions. For example, children-in-law are prohibited from saying the names of their parents-in-law. The appropriate terms of address for one's parents-in-law are mormorong-ag 'old man' for the father-in-law and mammad-an 'old woman' for the mother-in-law. Parents-in-law may address their children-in-law by their personal names.

14. Kiissaw is a euphemism for sex. The literal meaning of the word is 'dirt'.

20. Love affairs are considered serious wrongs, particularly if one or both of the people involved are married. The punishment is suffering for each person's family due to the trouble caused by the illicit affair, and possible death for the spouse and children of either partner involved in the affair.

22. The peacepact is a reciprocal agreement between villages guaranteeing the protection of life and property of the members of each village. In each village, a man or woman holds the peacepact for the other village. These people are referred to as kapodon, 'copeacepact holders'. A love affair between the copeacepact holders is a violation of the peacepact and a serious offense since it endangers all the lives of the people in one's village.

9 SA IN=-INON DA TAGU WE
T,S CVC,CONT=way G,PL live/person LK

AM=PANGAT ATTE DANDANI
SF,NP=leader O,S old.days

THE WAY PEOPLE BECAME LEADERS IN THE OLD DAYS

By Alfredo Tombali

1. Annaya in=-inon da
here.is CVC,CONT=way G,PL

tagutte awi ye anginap atte
live/person:O,S long.ago LK SF,NP:find O,S

pangat=da. 2. Sa pangat atte dandani,
leader=II,3,PL T,S leader O,S old.days

dakom=pun=e asi gela mi=i=kogway onnu
NEG=MOD=LK LIM EMPH SF,NP=??=surprise ALT

asi=na aran atte d=um=akor.
LIM=II,3,S get:OF,NP O,S big/adult=SF,NP=__

3. Sa mam=pangat=e tagu,
T,S SF,NP=leader=LK live/person

mi=kab=ban-og.
SF,NP=NR=small

1.*Here is how people who lived long ago recognized their leaders. 2.*In the past, a leader would not be made instantly, nor would he acquire his leadership when he was an adult. 3. The person who would be a leader had to be a leader from childhood.

4. Da sin=d=um=ogwat, awad de
T,PL own=age.group=SF,NP=__ EXT N,S

ossa=an=e i=kab=ban-og=na igammu=won
other/one=NR=LK MN=NR=small=II,3,S know=OF,NP

de sadi ye kan=ak. 5. Kan=an da
N,S D3 LK say=RF,NP:II,1,S say=RF,NP G,PL

ma=tagu we awad de paniyaw=na, anna
SF,NP=live/person LK EXT N,S taboo=II,3,S D1

ngilin=na, anna biin=na, ya am=baru
taboo=II,3,S D1 respect=II,3,S CO SF,NP=good

de kopya=natta ka=dogwat=ana.
N,S act=II,3,S:O,PL REC=age.group=NR:II,3,S

6. Adi=na pun ba=barang=on atta
NEG=II,3,S MOD CV=careless=OF,NP O,PL

4.*In every peer group, there is one person who from his childhood lives according to what I talked about earlier. 5.*People would say he has paniyaw, he has ngilin, he has biin, and he has good relations with his peer group. 6.*He does not show disregard for them (either in word or action). 7. He does not constantly get into heated arguments with them. 8.*He works with dedication for the good of his generation. 9.*He does

ka=sin=ta=tagu=na. 7. Adi=na
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,3,S NEG=II,3,S

pun dida upan subo=subog=on.
MOD III,3,PL HAB CVCV,REP=argue=OF=NP

8. Siya pay koon=e mangipapuut
III,3,S EMPH do/make:OF,NP=LK SF,NP=diligent

atte am=baru=wan da ka=dogwat=ana.
O,S SF,NP=good=NR G,PL REC=age.group=NR:II,3,S

9. Adi=pun os pupan maka=subog.
NEG=MOD ADD HAB PART,SF,NP=argue

10. Adi=pun os pupan maka=raw=rawing.
NEG=MOD ADD HAB PART,SF,NP=CVC,PL=bad

11. Siya pay koon=e
III,3,S EMPH do/make:OF,NP=LK

mangur=-urnus atta sadi ye
SF,NP:CVC,CONT=unity O,PL D3 LK

dogwat=na.
age.group=II,3,S

not participate in arguments. 10. He also does not make trouble. 11. He settles disputes for his peer group.

12. Angwa kad da anne
SF,NP:do/make UM N,PL D1:LK

dogwat=na te ip=pun
age.group=II,3,S CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD

koonak lawing, tenna ampay
do/make:OF,NP:II,3,S:N,S bad CAUS:D1 EMPH

de paniyaw=na, anna ngilin=na, anna
N,S taboo=II,3,S D1 taboo=II,3,S D1

biin=na, ma=biin=an=das
respect=II,3,S RF,NP=respect=__=II,3,PL:N,S

siya. 13. Ma=biin=da de sadi ye
III,3,S OF,NP=respect=II,3,PL N,S D3 LK

ossa=an ka duwatta sin=d=um=ogwat
other/one=NR CO two:O,PL own=age.group=SF,NP=__

te abus ak ko=ko-ona de
CAUS only N,S CV,CONT=do/make:OF,NP:II,3,S N,S

12.*Consequently his peers will respect him because he does not make trouble, and because he has paniyaw, ngilin, and biin. 13. People will respect the one or two in each peer group who are like that because the main thing that that person does is settle the affairs of his peers and do things for their common good. 14. Then those who are looking on—his parents, the rest of the people—they will say, "He really does things well because he leads for the good of the community. 15. He does

sa urnus=da   pagay ya sa
T,S unity=II,3,PL EMPH CO T,S

am=baru=wan=da.   14. Da   tagu
SF,NP=good=NR=II,3,PL   T,PL live/person

kad=e angila,   da   sin=-anak, da
UM=LK SF,NP=see T,PL own=child T,PL

tagu   we udum, kan=an=da   "Siya
live/person LK other say=RF,NP=II,3,PL III,3,S

pos in   dendi te   siya   pagay
HORT CERT N,S:D3 CAUS III,3,S EMPH

i=pang=pangat=na   de am=baru.
ACCF,NP=CVC,CONT=leader=II,3,S N,S SF,NP=good

15. Dakom=puk   i=pangat=na   de
    NEG=MOD:N,S ACCF,NP=leader=II,3,S N,S

lawing."
bad

16. Angasawa   kad de sadi ye
    SF,NP:spouse/marriage UM N,S D3   LK

tagu   we am=baru   som=somok=na   ya
live/person LK SF,NP=good CVC=think=II,3,S CO

siya   in=asawa=na
III,3,S P=spouse/marriage(OF)=II,3,S

isu=na,   b=um=oroy=da   kad=e sadi
same=II,3,S house=SF,NP=___=I,3,PL UM=LK D3

adi=da   pun ma=apos=e   angi=pa=kan
NEG=I,3,PL MOD SF,NP=jealous=LK SF,NP=CAUS=eat

ka mangatod   atta ki=ili=yan=da.   17. Nu
CO SF,NP:give O,PL REC=place=NR=II,3,PL   HYP

alig=na,   awak kad da
example=II,3,S EXT UM N,PL

kab=kab=biin   da   anne
CVC,INS=CV,NR=respect T,PL D1:LK

ma=kwe   an=dunu=wan   ni
SF,NP=do/make:LK SF,NP=butcher.animal=NR G,S

not lead the community in doing wrong."

16.*When a person with good character marries, he will marry someone like himself. When he and his wife live together, they will not begrudge feeding or sharing with their neighbors. 17.*For example, when there is a celebration for the betrothal of two children or an occasion in which an animal is butchered because of a death, he will not begrudge helping. 18. He will butcher any small animal that he has, or even a water buffalo if he has one. 19. He does not act grudgingly towards his fellowmen and his neighbors.

tagu,   ta   ma=toy,   adi=pun
live/person CAUS SF,NP=die NEG=MOD

ma=apos.   18. Ngan kad pay ni anna kan
SF,NP=jealous   INT UM EMPH G,S D1   O

siya,   i=pat-ug=na
III,3,S ACCF,NP=butcher.pig,dog,chicken=II,3,S

pay=e   i=pat-ug=na
EMPH=LK ACCF,NP=butcher.pig,dog,chicken=II,3,S

onnu koona   nu awad
ALT do/make:OF,NP:II,3,S HYP EXT

luwang=natte
water.buffalo=II,3,S:O,S

ma=dunu=wan.   19. Adi=pun ampay
SF,NP=butcher.animal=NR   NEG=MOD EMPH

ma=apos   atta
SF,NP=jealous O,PL

ka=sin=ta=tagu=na   ya da
REC=DIST=CV,PL=live/person=II,3,S CO N,PL

ki=ili=yana.
REC=place=NR:II,3,S

20. Sa awi   ye d=umm=atng=an   ni
    T,S long.ago LK arrive=SF,P=__=NR G,S

anne bar=baruknit=e   p=inn=a=toy
D1:LK CVC,PL=planned.battle=LK CAUS=NR=__=die

sadi kan=an=de   i=subu=na
D3   say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK ACCF,NP=offer=II,3,S

de long-ag=natte   saraknib   ni ili.
N,S body=II,3,S:O,S protection G,S place

21. L=um=nok   kad atte baruknit,
    enter=SF,NP=__ UM O,S planned.battle

i=biling=na   pagay=e ma=toy,   tenna
ACCF,NP=count=II,3,S EMPH=LK SF,NP=die CAUS:D1

in=e   siya   de kamak mangi=panga=pangat.
CERT=LK III,3,S N,S EMPH SF,NP=CVCV,PL=leader

20. Long ago when there were battles, he would offer himself as protection for the community. 21. Whenever he entered a battle, he would consider himself as dead because he would always lead the others. 22. When he beheaded someone or was the first to hit someone--if he was lucky enough to live--that is one of the instances for which he would be praised, but he would demonstrate his bravery only when

22. Aniwat kad ya anorna,
SF,NP:behead UM CO SF,NP:first.to.shoot

nu gasat=ne ma=tagu, sadi
HYP lucky=II,3,S:LK SF,NP=live/person D3

ose mi=dayaw=ana yakon
other/one:LK SF,NP=praise=NR:II,3,S ADV

asi=na de katti ye sokar=na
LIM=II,3,S N,S like.this LK brave=II,3,S

iggatte saraknib ni ili.
ACCF,NP:put:O,S protection G,S place

23. Dakom=puk sokar=ne ossa=an.
NEG=MOD:N,S brave=II,3,S:LK other/one=NR

24. Sadi kamak os=e mangor=-anatte
D3 EMPH ADD=LK SF,NP:get=NR:II,3,S:O,S

kina=pangat=na.
AB=leader=II,3,S

25. Sa ose
T,S other/one:LK

mangor=-anos atte kina=pangat=na,
SF,NP:get=NR:II,3,S:ADD O,S AB=leader=II,3,S

am=mangili kad atta mangili=n ela
SF,NP=SF,NP:place UM O,PL SF,NP:place=LG HORT

da udum, awag gad ma=balin=nak
G,PL other EXT UM SF,NP=possible=II,3,S:N,S

iyas onnu manuk=na ayag=ana
piglet ALT chicken=II,3,S call=RF,NP:II,3,S

de mangili te i=biin=na de
N,S SF,NP:place CAUS ACCF,NP=respect=II,3,S N,S

ili. 26. Sorsag=ana kad da
place invite.to.eat:RF,NP:II,3,S UM N,PL

mangili, kan=ane "Na,
SF,NP:place say=RF,NP:II,3,S:LK ATTN

awway=yu ta in=kayu mangan atte
come.here=II,2,PL CTG go=I,2,PL SF,NP:eat O,S

protecting the community. 23. His bravery was not just for himself. 24. That is one way in which he would acquire his leadership.

25. Another way in which he would gain his leadership is when he received the visitors of others. Whenever he had food, such as a piglet or a chicken, he would call the visitors because he would want to show respect on behalf of the community. 26. When he invited the visitors to eat he would say, "Hey, come and eat at our house." 27. That is one way he would gain recognition because he would not begrudge feeding the visitors. 28. He would not be self-seeking during his life. 29. Later on when he was well-known, he would have visitors and

boroy=ni."   27. Sadi kamak osa   te
house=II,1,PL,EX   D3   EMPH other/one CAUS

adi=na   pun ampay iy=apos.
NEG=II,3,S MOD EMPH ACCF,NP=jealous

28. Ip=pun   agum=natte
    NEG,EXT,P=MOD self.interest=II,3,S:O,S

ma=tagu=wana.   29. Oni   kad=e
SF,NP=live/person=NR:II,3,S   later UM=LK

sadi ta mi=igammu, anna da
D3   CO SF,NP=know D1   N,PL

mangili=yona   anna pay da   pupana
NR:place=OF,NP:II,3,S D1   EMPH N,PL HAB:II,3,S

pa=kan=an   atte boroy=na.
CAUS=eat=RF,NP O,S house=II,3,S

would usually feed them and his neighbors at his house.

30. Duknag kos   atte kina=pawot,
    arrive UM:ADD O,S AB=industrious

mam=pawot   o. 31. Dakom=pos=e   upan ela
AJR=industrious ADD   NEG=MOD:ADD=LK HAB ADD

ang=gag=gagayam.   32. Dakom=puk
SF,NP=CV,CONT=stay.home.to.rest   NEG=MOD:N,S

baduur=e tagu.   33. Siyos   de pupan
lazy=LK live/person   III,3,S:ADD N,S HAB

angi=pap=pangat   atta am=barutte
SF,NP=CV,CONT=leader O,PL SF,NP=good:O,S

kina=pawot=na.
AB=industrious=II,3,S

34. Tur-ay=anos   de pawot,
    exceed=OF,NP:II,3,S:ADD N,S industrious

te   ngos   ni ipa=kan=natta
CAUS INT:ADD G,S CAUS,ACCF,NP=eat=II,3,S:O,PL

mangili=yona   nu adi=na
NR:place=OF,NP:II,3,S HYP NEG=II,3,S

tur-ay=an   de pawot.
exceed=OF,NP N,S industrious

30. When it came to hardwork, he would be industrious too. 31. He would not stay home to rest from work. 32. He would not be a lazy person. 33. He would also lead others by his industriousness in doing what was for the good of all. 34. He would excel in industriousness, because what would he serve his visitors if he did not excel in hardwork?

35. Sa ose mangor=-ana,
T,S other/one:LK SF,NP:get=NR:II,3,S

sa anne kina=turod ni som=somok=na.
T,S D1:LK AB=courage G,S CVC=think=II,3,S

36. Anna de kamak laing=na onnu
D1 N,S EMPH intelligence=II,3,S ALT

kina=som=somok=ne mal=lintog.
AB=CVC=think=II,3,S:LK SF,NP=custom/law

37. Da mal=lintog atte dandani,
T,PL SF,NP=custom/law O,S old.days

niip=pun tangdan=da. 38. Awag gad da
NEG,EXT,P=MOD payment=II,3,PL EXT UM N,PL

kasus, nu ma=kasus=an de ose
case HYP SF,NP=case=__ N,S other/one:LK

bory=an, ose tagu,
house=NR other/one:LK live/person

i=gagayam=na ya
ACCF,NP=stay.home.to.rest=II,3,S CO

i=lintog=na kad de guru kan
ACCF,NP=custom/law=II,3,S UM N,S trouble CO

da kasus, kan=an=de "A,
N,PL case say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK ADT

gappiya kan anuka ta in=inggaw
thank.heavens O what's.his.name LK P=present

ta l=in=intog=ana." 39. Te takon
CTG custom/law=P=__=RF:II,3,S CAUS CONC

kay nu in=sis=siput attenna da
EMPH LK NR=CVC=work O,S:D1 N,PL

ma=lintog=an,
SF,NP=custom/law=NR

i=gagayam=na.
ACCF,NP=stay.home.to.rest=II,3,S

40. I=bandu=na gay de
ACCF,NP=disregard=II,3,S EMPH N,S

kuwa=de siput ya
own=II,3,PL:LK work CO

35. Another way in which he would acquire his leadership would be by the boldness of his decision-making. 36.*He would be intelligent and have his own way of giving justice. 37. The peacemakers of the past were not paid for their services. 38. When there was a case—if a person or a family was involved in a case—the leader would stay home from work to settle the case. When he had settled the trouble people would say, "Ah, thank heavens what's-his-name was here so that he could settle the case." 39.*Even if there were cases during peak working periods, he would stay home to settle them. 40. He would disregard his own work and act as a mediator for those who had a case to settle, because he would be knowledgeable in settling cases and capable of being an arbitrator by his own way of making decisions. 41.*When there was a case to settle in the community, or when there was trouble between villages, he would donate his own time because he would want the case to be settled. 42. He would not limit himself only to his family affairs. He would continue to devote himself to the

l=in=intog=ana da sadi ye
custom/law=P=__=RF:II,3,S N,PL D3 LK

ma=kasus=an, tenna ampay de
SF,NP=case=__ CAUS:D1 EMPH N,S

igammu=na, ka orog=na pay=e
ACCF,NP:know=II,3,S CO able=II,3,S EMPH=LK

mal=lintog atte kuwa=ne som=somok.
SF,NP=custom/law O,S own=II,3,S:LK CVC=think

41. Duknag gad atte l=inn=intog=an ni
arrive UM O,S custom/law=NR=__=NR G,S

ili ya k=in=abagaang,
place CO group.of.villages=NR=__

itt=ona pay de long-ag=na ka
give=OF,NP:II,3,S EMPH N,S body=II,3,S CO

amin=e orgaw=ne ma=taktak ta
all=LK day=II,3,S:LK SF,NP=delay CAUS

pione ma=lintog=an.
like/want:II,3,S:LK SF,NP=custom/law=NR

42. Adi=na pun pay
NEG=II,3,S MOD EMPH

tawili=yon de
look.back.in.same.direction=OF,NP N,S

bory=an=na ya siya pay
house=NR=II,3,S CO III,3,S EMPH

koon=e um=oy mangi=papuut atte
do/make:OF,NP=LK SF,NP=go SF,NP=diligent O,S

ma=lintog=an ni duwe ili. 43. Sadi
SF,NP=custom/law=NR G,S two:LK place D3

ose mangor=-ana gos atte
other/one:LK SF,NP:get=NR:II,3,S ADD O,S

kina=pangat=na, te niip=pun ampay
AB=leader=II,3,S CAUS NEG,EXT,P=MOD EMPH

apos=na. 44. Siya pay
jealous=II,3,S III,3,S EMPH

koon=e mangi=papuut atte
do/make:OF,NP=LK SF,NP=diligent O,S

settlement of the case between the two villages. 43. That is one way in which he would gain his leadership because he would not show any partiality for his own interests. 44. He would work for the settlement of cases and for the improvement of people's lives.

ma=lintog=an ya b=um=aru=wan da
SF,NP=custom/law=NR CO good=SF,NP=__=NR G,PL

ma=tagu.
SF,NP=live/person

45. Sana kad da ma=dag=daggup,
D1 ADT N,PL SF,NP=CVC,CONT=gather

nu d=um=akor=e sadi ya
HYP big/adult=SF,NP=__=LK D3 CO

na=apu=wan, siyos
SF,P=grandparent=NR III,3,S:ADD

koon=e upan an=tud=tudu atte
do/make:OF,NP=LK HAB SF,NP=CVC=point O,S

in=-inon pagay da ma=tagu.
CVC,CONT=way EMPH G,PL SF,NP=live/person

46. Ma=apu=wan kad, asi=da
SF,NP=grandparent=NR UM LIM=II,3,PL

kan=e "A, pangat," tenne mi=igammu=m
say=LK ADT leader CAUS:D1:LK OF,NP=know=LG

pagay da tagu de in=-inon=e
EMPH G,PL live/person N,S CVC,CONT=way=LK

mangi=pangat atta losan=e mi=pangat=an ni
SF,NP=leader O,PL all=LK SF,NP=leader=NR G,S

b=um=aru=wan ni ili te adi=pun
good=SF,NP=__=NR G,S place CAUS NEG=MOD

ma=kwe mam=pangat nu abus ak
SF,NP=do/make:LK SF,NP=leader HYP only N,S

pangat=ana bory=an=na. 47. Siya
leader=RF,NP:II,3,S house=NR=II,3,S III,3,S

umpay i=pangat=anatte dandani da
EMPH RF,NP=leader=__:II,3,S:O,S old.days N,PL

tagu. 48. Sana de angon-on=an=da
live/person D1 N,S SF,NP:agree=NR=II,3,PL

pagay atte pangat atte dandani, te nu
EMPH O,S leader O,S old.days CAUS HYP

45.*When all this was taken together and a man grew up in this way and had grandchildren, then he would continue to give advice about how to live well. 46.*When he had grandchildren, people would say, "Ah, he's a real leader," because people would know how he had lead in matters concerning the good of the community. He could not possibly be a leader if he had only led his family. 47. In the past he had to be a leader for all the people. 48. This is how people decided upon a leader in the past. If a leader spoke in the past, people would listen to him because they knew that he would be impartial in his judgements. 49. That is the way leaders were morally upright in the past.

man=-ugud de pangat atte dandani tenne
SF,NP=talk N,S leader O,S old.days CAUS:D1:LK

mi=igammu we adi=na pun iy=apos
SF,NP=know LK NEG=II,3,S MOD ACCF,NP=jealous

de som=somok=na, dongr=on=da.
N,S CVC=think=II,3,S hear=OF,NP=II,3,PL

49. Sadi kamat mang=godong=an da pangat
D3 EMPH SF,NP=straight=NR G,PL leader

atte dandani.
O,S old.days

50. Sa sana kad attenne ma=butus=an
T,S now ADT O,S:D1:LK SF,NP=vote=NR

ela da pangat. 51. Isu=nan
HORT G,PL leader same=II,3,S:OF,NP

in-inop=e poyaaw. 52. Adi=da pun
dream=LK breeze NEG=II,3,PL MOD

mi=lasin ya angwa kad da sane
SF,NP=recognize CO SF,NP:do/make UM N,PL D1:LK

ma=butus=an, kan=ande "Dikani
SF,NP=vote=NR say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK III,1,PL,EX

pangat," yakon abus ak
leader ADV only N,S

i=papuut=da bory=an=da.
ACCF,NP=diligent=II,3,PL house=NR=II,3,PL

53. Awak kos da koon=de
EXT UM:ADD N,PL do/make:OF,NP=II,3,PL:LK

b=um=aru=wan ni ili,
good=SF,NP=__=NR G,S place

ad=-adu=wan=dos ak
CVC,INS=many=RF,NP=II,3,PL:ADD N,S

angaratta pilak ya sadi
SF,NP:get:O,PL money CO D3

kan=an=de 'igab.' 54. Oni kad=e
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK corruption later UM=LK

50.*Today the leaders are only voted upon. 51. It is like a dream in the air.
52. They are not recognized as leaders. The elected leaders say, "We are leaders," but they are only seeking the interests of their families.
53. Whenever there is a project for the improvement of the community, they are the first to do something so that they can get the money, and that is what is called 'corruption'.
54. Later on people will not listen to them, because why should you listen to that kind of leader?

sadi adi=m pun pay da tagu
D3 NEG=LG MOD EMPH G,PL live/person

d=ing=ngor te ngon ta dongr=om
hear=P=__(OF) CAUS INT LK hear=OF,NP:II,2,S

os de katti ye pangat?
ADD N,S like.this LK leader

55. Sana de in=-inon da nam=pangat
D1 N,S CVC,CONT=way G,PL SF,P=leader

atte dandani de
O,S old.days N,S

i=ka=tagu=da ampay de sadi
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,3,PL EMPH N,S D3

ye turu: biin, paniyaw, kan ngilin.
LK three respect taboo CO taboo

56. Ma=dag=daggup kad=e sadi, pangat
SF,NP=CVC,CONT=gather UM=LK D3 leader

kammos pagay. 57. Ma=toy kad, losan pay ni
EMPH EMPH SF,NP=die UM all EMPH G,S

tagu kan=an=e "Siya, sanat pay
live/person say=RF,NP=LK III,3,S D2 EMPH

os=e pangat." 58. Man=-ugud kad atte
ADD=LK leader SF,NP=talk UM O,S

dandanitta lintog, dongr=on da
old.days:O,PL custom/law hear=OF,NP G,PL

tagu tenne ni=ila=m pay da
live/person CAUS:D1:LK SF,P=see=LG EMPH G,PL

tagu denne kina=pangat=na. 59. Sana
live/person N,S:D1:LK AB=leader=II,3,S D1

de in=-inon da tagu we
N,S CVC,CONT=way G,PL live/person LK

mam=pangat atte dandani.
SF,NP=leader O,S old.days

55. This is how men became leaders in the past—by living in accordance with the three standards: biin, paniyaw, ngilin. 56. When all this was taken together, he really was a leader. 57. When he died all the people would say, "That man—he was really one of the leaders." 58. In the past, whenever a leader spoke about the law, people would listen to him because they would have seen his leadership ability. 59. This is how people became leaders in the past.

Cultural notes for THE WAY PEOPLE BECAME LEADERS IN THE OLD DAYS

1. *Anginap* literally means 'to search for'.

2. One of the main criteria for a leader is that he shows the quality of his character and his leadership ability from childhood.

4. Here the speaker refers to the three qualities of a righteous man--*paniyaw*, *ngilin*, and *biin*--which he discusses at length in Text 8. He reviews those qualitites in sentence 5.

5. *Paniyaw* is the act of observing prohibitions which have a sacred quality to them. If a person fails to observe *paniyaw* prohibitions, it can result in his death. *Ngilin* is the act of observing prohibitions which are less serious than *paniyaw* prohibitions. If a person fails to observe *ngilin* prohibitions, it can result in misfortune for him or his family, such as illness, poor harvests, or loss of animals. *Biin* is the act of showing respect toward others.

6. The literal meaning of *babarangon* is 'to be careless'. In this sentence it is used in a more idiomatic sense and means 'to disregard the feelings of others'.

8. Verbs derived from the root *kowa* 'make/do' are undergoing a process of grammaticalization in which they act either as a verbal aspect or as a sentence introducer. In this sentence, *koon* is an objective focus verb meaning 'to do', and acts as a verbal aspect indicating that an action has been initiated and is continuing to take place but has not yet been completed. See sentences 11, 44, and 45 for additional examples.

9. Verbal prefix *maka-* indicates aptative action 'able to' only in negated clauses. In declarative clauses, *maka-* indicates cooperative action 'do with others', continuative verbal utterance 'say again and again', and nonvolitional action 'happen to do'.

12. *Angwa kad* is a second example of root *kowa* 'do/make' undergoing grammaticalization. *Angwa* is usually the subject focus verb form of root *kowa*. However the phrase *angwa kad* or *nangwa kad* occurs as a sentence introducer, usually meaning 'as for' or 'as it happened'.

16. Hospitality and generosity are important values among the Lubos. This theme recurs throughout the text.

17. Kabkabbiin is the custom of arranging a marriage betrothal between two small children. Child betrothals serve two main functions. The most common function is to strengthen ties between families and clans. The second function is to resolve a serious conflict between two families, by intermarriage. In either case, a child betrothal can be broken when the children attain marrying age.

36. Settling disputes between families and communities takes up much of a good leader's time. Disputes are common and the successful resolution of a case depends upon the skill of the community leaders as mediators. As cases are decided on the basis of previous cases, a skilled mediator must be able to remember the history and details of a great many cases and make suitable applications of those precedents to current cases.

39. Siput 'work' is the root of insissiput 'time of work'. The root has been altered by the addition of prefix in-, reduplication of initial CV- of the root, plus gemination of initial C of the root. Roots following a similar pattern are suyop 'sleep' which becomes insussuyop 'time for sleeping', sogob 'burn' which becomes insossogob 'time for burning' (referring to slash-and-burn gardens), baratung 'mongo beans' which becomes imbabbaratung 'time for planting mongo beans'.

41. Kabagaang is the root of kinabagaang. Kabagaang is the group of villages in an extended area. Kinabagaang refers to relations between two communities. When there is trouble between two communities kinabagaang becomes synonymous with 'tribal war'.

45. Age is another important factor in leadership qualifications. Even a good leader does not gain full leadership status until he is old enough to have grandchildren.

46. The point is that it is expected that every man would look after the needs of his family. It is the exceptional man who would defer his family's needs for the good of the community as a whole.

50. Elected local officials are not necessarily the most influential leaders in the community, particulary when it comes to settling community disputes. This causes friction in the community between community leaders and elected local officials. The community tends to follow those men who have proven their leadership ability over the years and have shown their commitment to the welfare of the community.

10 NGAI ANAK?
INT:G,S child

WHAT IS A CHILD?

By Alfredo Tombali

1. Sa anna gos=e mi=i=baga=k
T,S D1 ADD=LK OF,NP=??=tell=II,1,S

mi=puun atte anak. 2. Sa anak, sana
SF,NP=tree.trunk O,S child T,S child D1

de man=tipun=an ni layad da duwe
N,S SF,NP=join=NR G,S love N,S two:LK

man=-asawa. 3. Amunga kad
SF,NP=spouse/marriage SF,NP:bear.fruit UM

de layad da la=raki kan bo=bai ye
N,S love G,PL CV=male CO CV=female LK

nan=tipun, sa bunga=n ni layad=da anak,
SF,P=join T,S fruit=LG G,S love=II,3,PL child

wot sa anak bunga=n ni layad di
SEQ T,S child fruit=LG G,S love G,S

asawa.
spouse/marriage

*1. I am going to talk about children. 2. Children are the result of the love of two married people. 3. Whenever the love of a married couple bears fruit, the fruit of their love is a child. Consequently, a child is the fruit of married love.

4. Sa anne anak da
T,S D1:LK child G,PL

man=-asawa, ma=sapur pagay ye
SF,NP=spouse/marriage SF,NP=need EMPH LK

tangkon=an=da gos atte layad atte
care.for=RF,NP=II,3,PL ADD O,S love O,S

ma=tagu=wan=da. 5. Sa kamat
SF,NP=live/person=NR=II,3,PL III,3,S EMPH

anangkon=an=da, ma=tagu kad
SF,NP:care.for=NR=II,3,PL SF,NP=live/person UM

denne anak=e bunga=n di layad,
N,S:D1:LK child=LK fruit=LG G,S love

sil=le=le=layad=da. 6. Nu
DIST=CV,INS=CV,PL=love=I,3,PL HYP

4. The parents should raise their child with love. 5. The reason they should do this is if their child, who is the fruit of love, turns out well, everyone will be happy. 6. If you raise a child with this kind of love, he will remember it when he grows up and he will say, "Since I am the fruit of love, I will live happily." 7. The parents will also be happy with their child. 8. This is the meaning of the word

tangkon=am de anak attenne 'child'.
care.for=RF,NP:II,2,S N,S child O,S:D1:LK

layad, d=um=akor kap pagay de anak,
love big/adult=SF,NP=__ UM EMPH N,S child

mi=kagasmok=na kan=e, "Bunga=ak pun
OF,NP=remember=II,3,S say=LK fruit=I,1,S SM

atte layad, al=le=laya=dak os=e
O,S love SF,P=CV=love=I,1,S ADD=LK

ma=tagu." 7. Al=le=layad pay os
SF,NP=live/person SF,NP=CV=love EMPH ADD

da nangiy=anak atte sadi ye anak. 8. Sana de
N,PL SF,P=child O,S D3 LK child D1 N,S

ka=po=oy=an os ni ugud=e anak.
AB=CAUS=go=__ ADD G,S talk=LK child

Cultural notes for WHAT IS A CHILD?

Introductory comment: This text is a summary of a sermon delivered by the speaker at a church service in Lubo. Among the Lubos one of the most important reasons for marrying is to have children. A marriage that fails to produce children is not considered binding. Consequently, childlessness is the one accepted ground for divorce.

11 DA MA=SAP-UY=AN YA DA MA=RUGAM=AN
T,PL SF,NP=blow=NR CO T,PL SF,NP=weed=NR

SUPERNATURAL ILLNESSES

By Dalen Do-ayan

1. Sa anne ugud=ok, sa
T,S D1:LK talk=OF,NP:II,1,S T,S

aggasang. 2. Awad da udum
spirit.that.causes.sickness EXT N,PL other

al Lubo we aggasang=da
L Lubo LK spirit.that.causes.sickness=II,3,PL

urog. 3. Nu um=ali urog=e luum
snake HYP SF,NP=come snake=LK snake.type

atte boroy, ya ilan=de sa
O,S house CO see:OF,NP=II,3,PL:LK T,S

kuwa=de aggasang
own=II,3,PL:LK spirit.that.causes.sickness

lana=on=da de long-ag=na ya umm=ayaw
oil=OF,NP=II,3,PL N,S body=II,3,S CO SF,P=leave

de sadi ye urog. 4. Sana da
N,S D3 LK snake D1 N,PL

aggasang da udum=e
spirit.that.causes.sickness G,PL other=LK

tagus sinaoy.
live/person:L D1

5. Sa kukku. 6. Sa kukku gos
T,S spirit.type T,S spirit.type ADD

de os=e ma=sap-uy=al Lubo. 7. Nu
N,S ADD=LK SF,NP=blow=NR:L Lubo HYP

mangna=katte kukku sa long-ag=nu
SF,NP:hit=I,2,S:O,S spirit.type T,S body=II,2,S

losan g=um=ator. 8. Mamin
all itchy=SF,NP=__ SF,NP:all

b=um=a:log de long-ag ya
covered.with.hives=SF,NP=__ N,S body CO

*1.*I am going to talk about the *aggasang* or spirits that cause illnesses. 2.*There are some people in Lubo for whom the snake is their *aggasang*. 3.*If a *luum* snake comes into their house, and the people to whom the *aggasang* belongs see that it is their *aggasang*, they will put oil on its body, and the snake will leave. 4. This is the *aggasang* of some people here.

5. The *kukku*. 6. The *kukku* is another kind of *masap-uyan* in Lubo. 7.*When you are attacked by a *kukku* your whole body becomes itchy. 8. Your whole body is covered with hives, and it is very itchy. 9.*It will eventually kill you if someone does not blow smoke on you. 10.*People use tobacco smoke to blow on the

amod de gator=na. 9. Mi=ka=toy nu
too.much N,S itchy=II,3,S AJR=MN=die HYP

adi=da sap-uy=an. 10. Sa
NEG=II,3,PL blow=RF,NP T,S

amug-uy=da tubaku. 11. Sa tangdan kad
SF,NP:blow=II,3,PL tobacco T,S payment ADT

ni anne an=sa=sap-uy atte kukku
G,S D1:LK SF,NP=CV=blow O,S spirit.type

sim=botok=e tubaku. 12. Sana
one=rice.measure=LK tobacco D1

aggasang da B=in=og-akon.
spirit.that.causes.sickness G,PL Bog-akon=NR=__

13. Sa imagorong o de ose
T,S spirit.type ADD N,S other/one:LK

aggasang as sina. 14. Nu
spirit.that.causes.sickness L D1 HYP

maka=ug=-uggud=katte tagu
PART,SF,NP=CVC,CONT=talk=I,2,S:O,S live/person

ya pion dika gelatte
CO like/want:OF,NP IV,2,S EMPH:O,S

aggasang tipak=on
spirit.that.causes.sickness inflict=OF,NP

ma=aggasang=an=ka.
SF,NP=spirit.that.causes.sickness=NR=I,2,S

15. Nu
HYP

ma=aggasang=an=ka
SF,NP=spirit.that.causes.sickness=NR=I,2,S

an=sigab de botak=nu ya upan=ka
AJR=sick N,S stomach=II,2,S CO HAB=I,2,S

an=-uta. 16. Sanos de ose
SF,NP=vomit D1:ADD N,S other/one:LK

aggasang as sinaoy.
spirit.that.causes.sickness L D1

sick person. 11.*The payment for the person who blows on the kukku is one botok of tobacco. 12.*The kukku is the aggasang of the Bog-akon clan.

13.*The imagorong is another kind of aggasang here. 14. If you talk with a person who has an imagorong spirit and the imagorong spirit wants to make you sick, you will become ill.
15. If you have an aggasang illness your stomach hurts, and you keep on vomiting.
16. This is another kind of aggasang here.

17. Sa talligan de os=ose
T,S spirit.type N,S other/one:ADD=LK

ma=rugam=as sina. 18. Da
SF,NP=weed=NR:L Dl T,PL

ma=tallig=an,
SF,NP=spirit.type

man=dura=duras=da ya
SF,NP=CVCV=writhe.in.pain=I,3,PL CO

mang=-it=-itta=da. 19. Nu
SF,NP=CVC,CONT=gasp.for.breath=I,3,PL HYP

adi ditos lugam=an atta sing=kuwatte
NEG IV,1,DL:ADD weed=RF,NP O,PL own=own:O,S

sane talligan, ma=toy=ta.
Dl:LK spirit.type SF,NP=die=I,1,DL

17.*The *talligan* is another kind of *marugaman* here. 18. People who get sick from the *talligan* writhe in pain and gasp for breath. 19. If the owner of the *talligan* spirit does not place an herb on our body, we will die.

20. Siya upan=ta ma=tipak=an
III,3,S HAB=I,1,DL SF,NP=inflict=__

de maka=ug=-uggud=tatta
N,S PART,SF,NP=CVC,CONT=talk=I,1,DL:O,PL

ma=aggasang=an ya
SF,NP=spirit.that.causes.sickness=NR CO

i=wadoy=ta da
ACCF,NP=push.through.vegetation=II,1,DL N,PL

na=purdus=an. 21. Adi=pun
SF,P=knotted.vegatation=NR NEG=MOD

ma=kwe sap-uy=an ka lugam=an da
SF,NP=do/make:LK blow=RF,NP CO weed=RF,NP G,PL

udum=e tagu. 22. Dida pagay.
other=LK live/person III,3,PL EMP

20.*The reason why we keep on getting sick is that we talk with people who have an *aggasang*, and we push through vegetation (either wittingly or unwittingly) that has been rightfully claimed by another person. 21. It is not possible for people other than those who have an *aggasang* to blow on the sick person and to place an herb on him. 22. They are the only ones who can do it!

Cultural notes for SUPERNATURAL ILLNESSES

Introductory comment: Illnesses thought to be caused by supernatural means are grouped into two types: *masap-uyan* and *marugaman*. *Masap-uyan* are illnesses that are believed to be caused by spirits and which are cured by blowing tobacco smoke on the sick person. The term comes from the word *sap-uy* 'blow'.

Marugaman are illnesses that are believed to be caused by other people (by poisoning, for instance), and which are cured by placing an herb on the sick person's body. The term comes from the word *lugam* 'weed' or 'herb'.

1. *Aggasang* is a type of *masap-uyan*. When a child is constantly sick, the family may decide to have an *aggasang* spirit placed on the child. The *aggasang* will protect the child from further illness.

In order to place an *aggasang* on a child, an *andadawak*, or local spirit doctor, is called in to perform the ceremony. This is how people acquire *aggasang* spirits. The indwelling of an *aggasang* spirit is distinct from spirit possession in that the person does not lose control of his physical or mental capacities. There are no convulsions, violent behaviour, or trances.

A person with an *aggasang* spirit can unwittingly cause another person to become sick. The person's *aggasang* can inflict illness upon any other person who comes near the person in whom it dwells. Usually some sort of verbal exchange takes place between the two people, a greeting, a social chat, or an argument.

2. An *aggasang* can change its physical form. A snake which finds its way into a house is suspected of being an *aggasang*.

3. People who have an *aggasang* are able to recognize their *aggasang* even when it is disguised in a different form, such as a snake. The person who has the same type of *aggasang* that dwells in the snake is able to make the snake leave the house.

Lana is oil made from coconuts. *Lanog* is oil made from pig's fat.

7. Each type of *masap-uyan* and *marugaman* inflicts a distinct type of illness upon a person. The sick person knows which kind of *aggasang* has made him sick by the symptoms he experiences.

9. Illnesses caused by *masap-uyan* can only be cured by having a person with that particular *masap-uyan* blow tobacco smoke on the sick person. If this is not done, the sick person will die. The person who has a spirit indwelling him is unable to prohibit the spirit from causing others to become sick; he is able, however, to cure the illness caused by his type of *masap-uyan*.

10. *Amug-uy* (from *pug-uy*) is a technical term for blowing tobacco smoke in order to cure an illness caused by a spirit. *Anap-uy* (from *sap-uy*) is a generic term meaning 'to blow'.

11. The pay for the service of the person who cures someone who has been made sick by a *kukku* spirit is a small handful of tobacco leaves, money, dried beans, or whatever is available. The monetary value is five to ten pesos, or about a half-day's wages for field work.

Originally no fee was charged to cure an illness caused by a *kukku* spirit; however, the illness appeared to transfer from the sick person to the relatives of the curer. So a fee for the cure was instituted to prevent the *kukku* spirit from transferring the illness to the curer's relatives.

12. Bog-akon's clan is a clan in Dacalan. Dacalan is about five kilometers south of Lubo in the Tanudan Valley. It is believed that the *kukku* originated in that area.

13. There are two kinds of *aggasang*: *inandaday* and *minagorong* (from which comes *imagorong*). *Minagorong* is the more powerful of the two types of spirits and requires a more complicated and expensive ceremony in order to place the spirit on a sick child.

17. The sickness caused by the *talligan* spirit is cured by placing an herb upon the body of the sick person.

20. Two reasons are given for people being made ill by spirits. The first reason is that they talk with those people who are indwelt by an *aggasang*. Consequently the spirit inflicts them with its illness. The second reason is that people brush through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by someone else. This claim is established by tying some leaves of a plant into a knot, *purdus*, and placing the knotted leaves beside the plants which the person is claiming for his own use. This is usually done for edible or useful plants such as vegetables, coconut, and betel nut. The claim prohibits anyone else from taking those plants. However, when the knotted leaves are removed, the claim still stands. Anyone who trespasses through the plants which have been claimed in this way, either knowingly or unknowingly, is open to attack by an *aggasang*. In this case the illness inflicted by the *aggasang* seems to be punishment for trespassing through vegetation that has been rightfully claimed by another person.

12 AS=-ASAWA
CVC=spouse/marriage

MARRIAGE

By Victor Dalanao

1. Sa awi, kan da
T,S long.ago say G,PL

da=dakkor=e an=tut=tudu we
CV,PL=big/adult=LK SF,NP=CVC=point LK

"Adi=ta pun mam pagay anagin=-ili te
NEG=I,1,DL MOD CERT EMPH SF,NP:??=place CAUS

buwat=na." 2. Te siya
inappropriate=II,3,S CAUS III,3,S

buwat=ana, silayun ay atte
inappropriate=NR:II,3,S all.right EMPH O,S

am=baru ma=tagu=wan=ta te
SF,NP=good SF,NP=live/person=II,1,DL CAUS

ip=pun kan=ana. 3. Yakon awad
NEG,EXT,P=MOD say=RF,NP:II,3,S ADV EXT

kad i=dangdangkas=ta,
UM ACCF,NP=have.misfortune=II,1,DL

ang=kuwa=ta pagay lawing=e angos
SF,NP=own=II,1,DL EMPH bad=LK breath/feeling

te ip=pun ka=tuku=tukun=ta.
CAUSE NEG,EXT,P=MOD NR=CVCV,REP=confide=II,1,DL

4. Buk=bukud=an=ta
CVC,INS=carry.on.shoulder.or.head=II,1,DL

pagay rigat ya oni kad in ta
EMPH difficulty CO later UM CERT CO

umdas de tut=tudu ta asi=ta
SF,NP:find N,S CVC=point CO LIM=II,1,DL

an=dadauli, na=radaw in te di=pun
SF,NP=repent SF,P=late CERT CAUS NEG=MOD

ma=kwe mi=puuli org=o
SF,NP=do/make:LK SF,NP=return able=OF,NP

1.*Long ago the old people gave the advice, "We should not marry those who are from other villages because it is not right." 2. The reason why it is not right is that things will be fine when everything goes well and there is nothing to say about situations. 3.*But when we have problems, we will be upset because we will have no one in whom to confide. 4. We will have to deal with our troubles on our own, and later on when we see the truth of their advice and we are sorry that we did not follow it, it will be too late because what is done is done.

mi=luus.
SF,NP=finished

5. In=ta   kos   ilan   da
go=II,1,DL UM:ADD see:OF,NP N,PL

ama=ta   ka ina=ta   onnu
father=II,1,DL CO mother=II,1,DL ALT

um=anak=ta   kad ya
SF,NP=child=II,1,DL UM CO

umm=ali=tatte   ili=ta   um=oy
SF,P=come=II,1,DL:O,S place=II,1,DL SF,NP=go

an=-angoy=ta   umm=oy=tos
SF,NP=check.about=II,1,DL SF,P=go=II,1,DL:ADD

in=sopsop   dida   ya miid
ACCF,P=financial.burden III,3,PL CO NEG,EXT,NP

kad in   pugik=on=da   kan
UM   CERT crush.in.hand=OF,NP=II,3,PL O

dita   nampa=biin=an   os   da   ama.
III,1,DL P,CAUS=respect=RF ADD G,PL father

6. L=umm=awing=an os ni
bad=SF,P=__=NR ADD G,S

angos=ta   te
feeling/breath=II,1,DL CAUS

i=baga=da   kad in   i=ngis-il
ACCF,NP=tell=II,3,PL UM   CERT ACCF,NP=joke

kan=e "Awad kad in   wot
say=LK EXT   ADT CERT SEQ

p=ing=gik=da   kan dikayu?"
crush.in.hand=P=__=III,3,PL O   III,3,PL

nangdas=an=ta   ot   atte lawing=e
SF,P:find+NR=II,1,DL SEQ O,S bad=LK

som=somok.
CVC=think

5.*When we visit our mother and father or when we have children and we go to our villages to visit our parents, we will be a financial burden to them. If they have nothing to butcher for us, our parents will be put to shame.
6. Our feelings will be hurt, too, because when people jokingly say, "Did they have something to butcher for you?", we will end up with hurt feelings.

7. Ma=toy   kos   da   ina=ta   ka
SF,NP=die UM:ADD N,PL mother=II,1,DL CO

7.*When our mother or father dies, we will not be there

ama=ta, ip=pun=ta in te
father=II,1,DL NEG,EXT,P=MOD=II,1,DL CERT CAUS

annat atta udum=e ili ya um=oy dita
D2 O,PL other=LK place CO SF,NP=go III,1,DL

kad in guwab=an ta
UM CERT call.for.emergency=RF,NP CO

ma=kanu=ta, igga=da in
SF,NP=delayed=II,1,DL ACCF,NP:put=II,3,PL CERT

de na=toy. 8. Sa
N,S SF,P=die T,S

kunata
custom.of.visiting.relatives.of.dead.person

kammos pagay de igaw=ta.
EMPH EMPH N,S place=II,1,DL

because we will be in other places. When they call us to attend the funeral and we are delayed, they will go ahead and bury the dead. 8.*We will be just like visitors.

9. Ya miid kos
CO NEG,EXT,NP UM:ADD

ma=borbalin=ta e
SF,NP=valuables=II,1,DL LK

man=-asawa ta miid
SF,NP=spouse/marriage CO NEG,EXT,NP

koon=ta, samkuy=ta gos.
do/make:OF,NP=II,1,DL despise=II,1,DL ADD

10. Ya adi=ta kad in maka=attom atte
CO NEG=II,1,DL UM CERT SF,NP=endure O,S

ngis-il da tagu, nangdas=an=ta
joke G,PL live/person SF,P:find=NR=II,1,DL

gelak maka=patoy=an=ta.
HORT:N,S SF,NP=CAUSE=die=NR=II,1,DL

11. Dam-on=da pos kan=e "Te
sometimes=II,3,PL HORT say=LK CAUS

nanagin=-ili pos da tagutte
SF,P:??=place HORT N,PL live/person:O,S

awi yakon in=datong=da
long.ago ADV ACCF,P=arrive=II,3,PL

9.*When we as a couple have no money and we do not do what is required of us as married children, we too will be despised. 10. And if we cannot stand the jokes people make about us, we might end up fighting them. 11. Sometimes it is said, "People married those from other villages in the past, but they brought their wealth home."

b=in=aknang=das	sina."
rich=NR=__=II,3,PL:L	D1

12.	B=um=oroy=ta	kad	os	atta
	house=SF,NP=__=I,1,DL	UM	ADD	O,PL

ili	ya	asi	gos	nan
place	CO	LIM	ADD	N,S:D1

in=asawa=ta	agag
P=spouse/marriage(OF)=II,1,DL	partial

pulingot	onnu	agag
easily.offended	ALT	partial

ma=lii	atta	mangili,
SF,NP=give.angry.look	O,PL	SF,NP:place

umm=oy=tos	nangor=-ak
SF,P=go=I,1,DL:ADD	SF,P:get=NR:N,S

mu=ugud=an=ta	te
SF,NP=talk=NR=II,1,DL	CAUS

am=mam=mangili=taku	pun,	adi	kad
SF,NP=CVC,CONT=visitor=I,1,PL,IN	MOD	NEG	UM

g=um=inga	al=langgak	atta	mangili,
sound=SF,NP=__	ADJ=sociable	O,PL	SF,NP:place

nal=lawing=an	os	da	su=sunud=ta
SF,P=bad=NR	ADD	G,PL	CV,PL=sibling=II,1,DL

kan	dita.	13.	Onnu	kana	kad	in
CO	III,1,DL		ALT	say:II,3,S	UM	CERT

ele	ang=-imus=e	"Kam-an	ni
HORT:LK	SF,NP=ask=LK	INT	G,S

ayaw=an=yu"	atta	mangili,	ta
leave=NR=II,2,PL	O,PL	SF,NP:place	CTG

kan=dos=e	"P=in=oryaw
say=II,3,PL:ADD=LK	CAUS=P=__:leave(OF)

dikani	gay,"	lawing=an	de
III,1,PL,EX	EMPH	bad=RF,NP	N,S

ka=ngngor=ana.	14.	Te	takon	kay	nu
AB=hear=__:II,3,S		CAUS	CONC	EMPH	HYP

12.*If we go and live in another place and our wife is easily offended or glares at our visitors, those things may cause us to be talked about. Since we often have visitors, if she refuses to be hospitable toward the visitors our relatives will take offense at us. 13. Or if she asks the visitors, "When will you be leaving?", and they say, "We were sent away", it upsets us to hear such things. 14.*This will happen even if the reason she asks is just that if there happens to be a little money set aside, she will get some dried fish or whatever so that there will be something that she can offer them as a going-away gift.

```
siya    angimus=ana         de  sa  awad kad
III,3,S SF,NP:ask=NR:II,3,S N,S T,S EXT  UM

in   ela  akit ak  mi=purut      ta
CERT HORT few  N,S SF,NP=squeeze CO

itt=onak              bilis      ela  nu
gift=OF,NP:II,3,S:N,S dried.fish HORT HYP

siya,   awad in   otyan kammiin
III,3,S EXT  CERT OPT   EMPH

att=ona           pay  ak
gift=OF,NP:II,3,S EMPH N,S

iy=od=-odas=da.
ACCF,NP=CVC=find=II,3,PL


     15. Dikayu   kotyan=e  na=adar=an,
         III,2,PL UM:OPT=LK SF,P=education=NR

am=baru    nin  otyan nu  as sina pagay
SF,NP=good POSS OPT   HYP L  D1   EMPH

angaso=an=yu                     yakon
SF,NP:spouse/marriage=NR=II,2,PL ADV

ilan=ni              kad os  sin sana,
see:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX UM  ADD ??  now

kid=dagu=kani        gay=e
CVC,NR=pit=I,1,PL,EX EMPH=LK

nampa=adar          kan dikayu   te
CAUS,SF,P=education O   III,2,PL CAUS

in=tayap=yu        adar=yu            ya
ACCF,P=fly=II,2,PL education=II,2,PL CO

kan=ni      in=e    iy=apos=yu
say=II,2,PL CERT=LK ACCF,NP=begrudge=II,2,PL

gay  akit=e bilis      adi pa=simsim  kan
EMPH few=LK dried.fish NEG CAUS=taste O

dikani.     16. Ila               in   nu
III,1,PL,EX     on.the.other.hand CERT HYP

anna=kayu otyan pagay as sina, anna=kayu we
D1=I,2,PL OPT   EMPH  L  D1    D1=I,2,PL LK
```

15.*You who are educated, it would be better for you to marry here, but what we see now is that we who have had you educated are to be pitied because you fly away with your education. You begrudge giving us a little dried fish; you will not let us taste it. 16.*On the other hand, if you were here, you would be our foundation. 17.*For we thought the point in educating you was so that you would be leaders here, but as we understand it, you want to be grafted on in other places. 18.*You will be leaders if you stay here. Other places already have leaders; consequently, you will just be something grafted on there no matter how much education you have.

tukud=ni. 17. Kan=ni
main.house.post=II,1,PL,EX say=II,1,PL,EX

pela nu siya
EMPH:HORT HYP III,3,S

an=-adar=an=yu
SF,NP=education=NR=II,2,PL

am=pangat=kayus sina yakon siyos
SF,NP=leader=I,2,PL:L D1 ADV III,3,S:ADD

pion=yutte
like/want=II,2,PL:O,S

angaawat=an=ni de
SF,NP:understand=NR=II,1,PL,EX N,S

pion=yu we mi=takpar.
like/want=II,2,PL:O,S LK SF,NP=grafted.plant

18. Pangat=kayu piim pagay as sina nu
leader=I,2,PL ADV EMPH L D1 HYP

inggaw=kayu, te da udum=e ili, awad
present=I,2,PL CAUS T,PL other=LK place EXT

os da pangat=da ot
ADD N,PL leader=II,3,PL SEQ

takpar=kayu kammo takon kay nu
grafted.plant=I,2,PL EMPH CONC EMPH HYP

ngai kina=dakor ni adar=yu.
INT:G,S AB=big/adult G,S education=II,2,PL

19. An=tut=tudu kad da
SF,NP=CVC=point UM N,PL

iy=awi, kan=da e angi=bage
person.of=long.ago say=II,3,PL LK SF,NP=tell:LK

"Na, ing=ka kan nuka te awad de
ATTN go=I,2,S O what's.his.name CAUS EXT N,S

simpukung=e bagliw=na
small.amount.of.water=LK small.ricefield=II,3,S

onnu awad de b=in=alikawog=na" ya
ALT EXT N,S circle=P=__(OF)=II,3,S CO

19.*When those who lived long ago gave advice, they said, "Say, you go marry her because she has a little rice field" or, "She has some gold." When he obeyed and did it, he had something with which to make a living. 20. There was a little something with which to start life. 21.*For we see that sometimes you

d=um=ngor kad in ta um=oy, andi kammos
hear=SF,NP=__ UM CERT CO SF,NP=go D3 EMPH

in de lung-ud=on=e
CERT N,S go.to.work=OF,NP=LK

i=ka=tagu=na. 20. Andi akit=e
ACCF,NP=MN=live/person=II,3,S D3 few=LK

an=sord=an=de ma=biyag. 21. Te
SF,NP=start=NR-II,3,PL:lk SF,NP=life CAUS

i=illan=ni kad dikayu we
CV,CONT=see:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX UM III,2,PL LK

kad=da=dakkor, dam-on=yu gela
RA=CV,PL=big/adult sometimes=II,2,PL EMPH:HORT

kan=e "Iy=yak ii=-iila te
say=LK go=I,1,S CVCV=CV=see CAUS

isu=nak Luggunawa." 22. Yakon piyanu
same=II,3,S:N,S Luggunawa ADV ADV

kan=om de k=in=osdor —
eat=OF,NP:II,2,S N,S strength=AB=__

kina=porkas! 23. Ma=duras de b=in=aru.
AB=clean/pretty SF,NP=fade N,S good=AB=__

24. Te ngai inon=te
CAUS INT:G,S way=II,1,DL:LK

al=lay=layad=e anna da ang=kodaw at
SF,NP=CVC=love=LK D1 N,PL SF,NP=beg N,S

tingngaroy? 25. Angwaniyam
ball.of.cooked.rice it.is.fitting:II,2,S

atte anna pagay
O,S D1 EMPH

am=borbali=ta. 26. Ya
SF,NP=appease.crying.child=II,1,DL CO

pasig=ta kad in
always=I,1,DL UM CERT

ang=-amuwong ak
SF,NP=does.not.know.what.to.do N,S

i=tor-un=ta duknag piin de
ACCF,NP=raise.children=II,1,DL arrive ADV N,S

young adults say, "I will go show her off because she is like Laggunawa." 22. But you cannot eat handsomeness or beauty! 23. Beauty fades. 24.*After all, how can we be happy if there is someone asking for rice? 25.*It would be better to have something that would stop our children from crying. 26.*And if we do not know how to provide for our family's needs, there will come the time when the drying rack will be the only thing that will keep us apart when we fight.

am=bordak=ta	suug=an.
SF,NP=boundary=II,1,DL	dry.over.fire=NR

Cultural notes for MARRIAGE

1. In expository discourse the enclitic pronoun *-ta* 'we two' is used for indefinite participants. It takes on the meaning of 'one' as in 'one should do these things', or 'when one does something, the consequences will be such'.

3. Misfortunes in life include sickness, death, or serious difficulties in which a person needs moral support.

5. The married children will be a financial burden to the Lubo parents because of the parents' social obligation to perform rituals which are public recognitions of their child's spouse and their grandchildren. These rituals always require that a pig be butchered for a feast for their married children and their grandchildren.

Obligations to the spouse of one's child include performing the *ngilin* ceremony and the *mangili* ceremony. The *ngilin* ceremony is usually performed at the time a couple decides to marry. It is a public announcement to the village that the couple will live together as a married couple. If the child and his spouse have married outside the village, then the child's parents will perform the *ngilin* ceremony for their child's spouse upon the spouse's first visit to the village.

In the *mangili* ritual, both the man's and the woman's parents will butcher on behalf of the married couple and the grandchildren. If the wife is from another village, then it is the man's parents who will perform the ritual and provide the pig that will be butchered for the feast. If the husband is from another village, then it is the woman's parents who will perform the ritual.

Another set of parental obligations must be fulfilled when the married couple bring their children to the husband's parents so that the grandparents may officially recognize the grandchildren. This custom is called *makooban* when the spouse is from another village. (The root is *oban* which is the blanket used to carry children on one's back.) It is called *umoy pasipat* 'to go have *sipat* beads given' when the husband and wife are from the same village.

When the couple arrive at the home of the husband's parents three rituals can be performed: the *gammid* ritual, the *atod* ritual, the *sipat* ritual. In the *gammid* ritual, the parents of the man officially recognize their grandchildren. During this celebration the parents will butcher either a pig or a water buffalo for a feast.

In the *atod* ritual, the wife gives sticky rice which she has prepared to her husband's parents. They in turn give her beads. The wife may also give sticky rice to the other relatives of her husband. The relatives 'buy' the sticky rice with beads which they give to the woman. In this last instance, the custom is called *awil*.

In the *sipat* ritual, the parents of the husband give gifts to their grandchildren. These are usually beads, but other things may be given such as a chicken or a blanket. The *sipat* ritual has the same name as a string of beads, *sipat*, that parents place around the wrists of their young children—blue beads for girls, red for boys.

Failure to perform these rituals reflects badly upon the parents. There is also the traditional belief that the failure on the part of the parent to perform these rituals will adversely affect the grandchild's life.

7. Calling terms:

guwaban - to call *aboryan* 'in-laws', *abbuyug* 'close friends in another village', and *kapodon* 'copeacepact holder' to come after a person is buried
ayagan - to call someone to come (generic)
boggaon - to call in-laws, close friends in another village, and copeacepact holder to come before a dying person has been buried
botadan - to call relatives of a person who is sick or dying
sorsagan - to call neighbors or visitors to eat
bullitiyon - to invite a copeacepact holder to attend a social function

8. *Kunata* is the custom of people from other villages or towns to come and visit a family after the death of one of its relatives. Those who come are not relatives of the family, but may be friends from another village, *abbuyug*, or a copeacepact holder, *kapodon*. Sometimes the visitors will come immediately following the burial of the person; other times they may come several years after the burial.

The implication in the text is that children should live in their own village so that they can be there to help when their parents are dying. If they live in other villages or towns, they will be like people who are not part of the family and come to visit only after the funeral.

Children also have obligations towards their parents. If a parent is sick, the child must perform a *songa* ritual in order to facilitate the parent's recovery. During this ritual a pig or water buffalo is butchered in exchange for the person's life.

When a parent is old and becomes sick, the child must perform the *ila* ritual in which a water buffalo is butchered in order to feed the visitors who come to pay their respects and who also bring items made of wood to help the hosting family. In this ritual the meat from the butchered animal is distributed only to those who have brought a contribution for the family.

Finally, there is the utung ritual which is performed following the death of a person. In this case one or two water buffalo are butchered in order to feed visitors and family. The primary purpose of this ritual, however, is to distribute a share of the meat to the section of the village in which the family lives. In general, it is difficult for any single family to distribute a share of meat to every family in Lubo since there are nearly 350 families in the village. Consequently, the village has been divided into two sections—Upper Lubo, and Lower Lubo and Babbanoy. When there is meat to be distributed as part of the utung ritual, the family is obligated to give meat only to those families who live in its section of the village.

The obligations are divided among the children so that the sons are mainly responsible for the expenses incurred for the sickness or death of the father, and the daughters are responsible primarily for the expenses of rituals for their mothers. Furthermore, it is the oldest son and daughter who usually pay for most of the expenses at this time because they have inherited the largest portions of the family's wealth. Consequently, they are in the best position to help with the cost of the rituals.

If a child does not live in the village so that he can meet his obligations to his parents, then it is interpreted as a lack of love and respect for his parents.

9. Maborbalin comes from the root balin and refers to things that make up a family's wealth, such as: rice fields, money, domesticated animals (chickens, pigs, water buffalo), antique Chinese jars, gold, and gongs. The phrase mabalinda 'they own property' also implies that the family is wealthy.

12. Hospitality is an important value among the people of Lubo. When someone has visitors the family does its best to provide them with a good meal, to entertain them well and, if possible, to give them a gift to take with them when they leave.

Also implied in this statement is the fact that most of the time a person's visitors will be his relatives. Consequently, if a man's wife is from another village she might resent the family's resources being spent to entertain her in-laws. On the other hand, even if she is content to entertain her in-laws she might inadvertently say something that would cause offense to them, which would create tension within the extended family.

14. Iyod-odas comes from the root odas 'find' and refers to gifts which are given to visitors when they leave. The gifts may be given to any of the visitors by the hosting family or by other people in the village as well. Such gifts are usually items like coffee beans, rice, coconuts, clothing or handmade brooms.

15. The point of this statement is that children are expected to serve their parents and the community once they have completed their education. The implication is that children can best do this by marrying someone from their own village.

16. Tukud is one of the four corner posts upon which a house or rice granary rests.

17-18. At present the young people of Lubo are seeking higher levels of education in order to attain better standards of living. Their parents support them in their desire to gain higher levels of education and pay most of the schooling expenses. A problem arises, however, in that often educated young people can only find jobs for which they have been trained in larger towns. This draws them away from the community. Furthermore, those living outside the community are more likely to marry someone from another village. Consequently their skills and salaries are lost to their families and community who hope to benefit from them. Parents complain that they have spent their resources on their children's education but are receiving little in return.

The specific argument in these two statements is that the educated young people want positions of leadership and responsibility. Their parents, however, point out that they will never really belong to any place except their own village. The young people should return to their own village where they will hold positions of responsibility and authority in their own right.

19. Terms for rice fields:

bagliw - small rice field
payaw - rice field (generic)
banong - literally, 'a dike that surrounds a rice field', but when affixed for number as in simbanong 'one dike', it takes on the figurative meaning of 'one rice field'

The reference to rice fields implies that a person who owns a rice field will be able to support his family because he has a secure means of obtaining food for his family.

Binalikawog means 'something that has been shaped into a circle', and in this context it refers to gold bands that are worn as bracelets or as a head decoration. The gold bands are handed down within the family as inheritances. A person who has inherited gold would be a descendant of a respected family of high standing.

21. Laggunawa is a beautiful woman who is a frequent character in ullalim stories.

24. Tingngaroy is cooked rice that has been shaped into a ball. It is given to children as a snack. The point here is that it will be one's own children who will be hungry.

25. Amborbali is something that will stop a child's crying, such as toys or food.

26. The phrase ambordakta suugan 'the drying rack will be our divider' refers to traditional houses in which the fireplace is in the center of the house. Above the fireplace hangs a drying rack upon which rice or beans are dried. The meaning of the statement is that when a married couple has economic difficulties they will end up quarrelling—then the only thing that will separate them in their fighting will be the drying rack.

13 SA TUR-UK YA TARANGAB
T,S first.thunder CO first.river.flood

THE FIRST THUNDER AND THE FIRST FLOODING OF THE RIVER

By Lungayat Manao

1. Nanur-uk   ag gorbiyan. 2. Sana
SF,P:first.thunder TI yesterday   D1

bordak   ni   tawon de   sane tur-uk.
boundary G,S year   N,S D1:LK first.thunder

3. Nu   da   in=taku
HYP T,PL go=I,1,PL,IN

t=um=o=torba
CV,CONT=SF,NP=__=edge.of.slash.and.burn.garden

atta uma,   nu
O,PL slash.and.burn.garden HYP

anguma=taku,
SF,NP:slash.and.burn.garden=I,1,PL,IN

adi=taku   paniyaw=on nu   awad kasin
NEG=II,1,PL,IN taboo=OF,NP HYP EXT   again

tur-uk=na   te   na=gangput. 4. Sa
first.thunder=II,3,S CAUS SF,P=finish   T,S

bordak   ni   tawon de   sana. 5. Ab=-abus
boundary G,S year   N,S D1   CVC,INS=only

ni   kidur=e   ngann=on=ni
G,S thunder=LK name=OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX

tur-uk.   6. Adi=ni   pun paniyaw=on
first.thunder   NEG=II,1,PL,EX MOD taboo=OF,NP

nu i=kasin=na.
HYP ACCF,NP=again=II,3,S

1.*It thundered for the first time yesterday. 2. This is the dividing point of the year: this first thunder. 3.*Whenever we go to look for an area for a slash-and-burn garden—if we make a slash-and-burn garden—we will not be prohibited from working when there is another thunder because the year is over. 4. This is the boundary of the year. 5. It is the first thunder which we call tur-uk. 6. We will not be prohibited from working if it thunders again.

7. I=kasin   kad angidur   ya
ACCF,NP=again UM   SF,NP:thunder CO

d=um=akor   at tawwang
big/adult=SF,NP=__ L   river

paniyaw=on=nitte   in=kani
taboo=OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX:O,S go=I,1,PL,EX

7.*Whenever it thunders again and the river rises, we will be prohibited from going to weed the rice plants. 8.*We say, "Let's not go weed because it is the first time for the

s=um=agamsam atta
weed.rice.plants=SF,NP=__ O,PL

river to flood."

i=mura=ni ye pagoy.
ACCF,NP=plant=II,1,PL,EX LK unhusked.rice

8. Kan=ni ye, "Adi=taku um=oy
say=II,1,PL,EX LK NEG=I,1,PL,IN SF,NP=go

s=um=agamsam te ab=-abus de
weed.rice.plants=SF,NP=__ CAUS CVC,INS=only N,S

udan=e tarangnab."
rain=LK first.time.that.river.floods

Cultural notes for THE FIRST THUNDER AND THE FIRST FLOODING OF THE RIVER

1. Types of thunder:

tur-uk - the first thunder which marks the beginning of the new year; it occurs around February or March
anur-uk - to thunder for the first time
kidur - thunder (generic)
angidur - to thunder

3. tumorba - to mark out a new area for a slash-and-burn garden; it implies marking the boundary lines for an area, which is then called a torba

Types of prohibitions:

paniyaw - a prohibition on actions which will be punished by Kabuniyan, the primary spirit being of Kalinga folkstories
ngilin - prohibitions on actions which will be punished by fate; it refers to actions or things (such as certain foods) which are to be avoided

The consequence of breaking the prohibition on work on the day of the first thunder, tur-uk, is that the plants in the slash-and-burn garden will be matutuk, eaten by worms.

7. Here also, the consequence of breaking the prohibition on work during the tarangab is that the young rice plants will be eaten by worms. See note to sentence eight.

Weeding terms:

lumidas - to weed a dike in a rice field before the rice is planted
umagabut - to weed a dike in a rice field after the rice plants have flowered

sumagamsam - to weed between rice plants
lumugam - to weed a slash-and-burn garden the first time
bumarasbas - to weed a slash-and-burn garden the second time

8. tarangab - the first time the river floods each year; this usually occurs around the end of March

14 SA KA=SOM=SOMK=AK ELATTE KATNA=AN NI SANE ORGAW
T,S AB=CVC=think=__:II,1,S HORT:O,S like.that=NR G,S D1:LK day

MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE WAY THINGS ARE TODAY

By Jose Sicnao

1. Sa anne pu=ur=-ullit=da
T,S D1:LK CAUS,OF,NP=CVC=story=II,3,PL

kanu kan sakon, da anne kigad ela ni
RS O III,1,S T,PL D1:LK extent HORT G,S

inn=ila=k atte sane
P=see(OF)=II,1,S O,S D1:LK

na=tagu=wak. 2. Sa
SF,P=live/person=NR:II,1,S T,S

d=ing=ngor=ku kigad atte
hear=P=__(OF)=II,1,S extent O,S

ka=ban-og=ku we ur=-ullit da
NR=small=II,1,S LK CVC=story G,PL

da=dakkor ya sa anne na=kwa=na=an
CV,PL=big/adult CO T,S D1:LK SF,P=do/make=MN=NR

da da=dakkor, sa oso=orgaw
G,PL CV,PL=big/adult T,S other/one=day

kan=taku "Andi da da=dakkor=e
say=II,1,PL,IN D3 N,PL CV,PL=big/adult=LK

man=tut=tudu." 3. Man=tut=tudu=da kap
SF,NP=CVC=point SF,NP=CVC=point=I,3,PL UM

pagay atta anak=da
EMPH O,PL child=II,3,PL

di=d=ing=ngor=ni ye anak te
CV,CONT=hear=P=__=II,1,PL,EX LK child CAUS

anak=kanitte sadi. 4. Ngan kap pagay ni
child=I,1,PL,EX:O,S D3 INT UM EMPH G,S

i=baga=da, l=um=nok kammos atte
ACCF,NP=tell=II,3,PL enter=SF,NP=__ EMPH O,S

*1. I have been asked to talk about what I have seen during my life. 2.*These are stories which I have heard from my childhood. They tell about the old folk and how the old folk lived. We say, "Long ago there were the old folk who gave advice." 3. Whenever they counseled us, we listened because we were children then. 4. Whatever they told us to do, we did it because they would say, "Why do you insist on your own way, you younger ones?" 5.*Everything that had to do with avoiding trouble, whatever they said about it, that is what we did, but now it is different. 6. Whatever we tell our children to do, whenever we tell them to behave themselves, they act even worse. 7. Whenever we say "That is bad," those who want to will obey. 8. However those who do not want to obey, who insist on their own ideas, they act

inga=ni te anne kan=an=de
ear=II,1,PL,EX CAUS D1:LK say=RF,NP=II,3,PL:LK

"Ngos ta angrog=on=yos ela
INT:ADD LK OF,NP:able=__=II,2,PL:ADD HORT

kuwa=yu we b=ar=an-og." 5. Losan=e
own=II,2,PL lk small=PL=__ all=LK

mi=panggop atte l=in=awing ngan kap pagay
SF,NP=purpose O,S bad=NR=__ INT UM EMPH

ni pion=da i=baga,
G,S like/want:OF,NP=II,3,PL ACCF,NP=tell

siya de koon=ni, yakon sa
III,3,S N,S do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX ADV T,S

sana kad karasi. 6. Ngan kad ni
D1 ADT different INT UM G,S

i=baga=ni atta anak, ngan kos
ACCF,NP=tell=II,1,PL,EX O,PL child INT UM:ADD

ni piom kan dida, nu
G,S like/want:OF,NP:II,2,S O III,3,PL HYP

i=baga=m=e koon=da
ACCF,NP=tell=II,2,S=LK do/make:OF,NP=II,3,PL

am=baru dallu=wot=e koon=da
SF,NP=good more=SEQ=LK do/make:OF,NP=II,3,PL

de lawing. 7. I=baga=m kos
N,S bad ACCF,NP=tell=II,2,S UM:ADD

kan=e "Sadi lawing," d=um=ngor os de
say=LK D3 bad hear=SF,NP=__ ADD N,S

awad=e moryad. 8. Da annat kap pagay
EXT=LK SF,NP:like T,PL D2 UM EMPH

os=e di=pun moryad d=um=ngor=e
ADD=LK NEG=MOD SF,NP:like hear=SF,NP=__=LK

angrog=on=da pay kuwa=de
OF,NP:able=__=II,3,PL EMPH own=II,3,PL:LK

som=somok, dawot=ot=e koon=da,
CVC=think more=SEQ=LK do/make:OF,NP=II,3,PL

yakon sa kuwa=n da da=dakkor
ADV T,S own=LG G,PL CV,PL=big/adult

even worse; but the stories of the old folk usually give advice like this: "I too was willfully disobedient."

kananassinaoy de ur=-ullit da
like.this N,S CVC=story G,PL

da=dakkor=e upan nan=tut=tudu "Sakon
CV,PL=big/adult=LK HAB SF,P=CVC=point III,1,S

kad os s=inum=pak=ak os."
ADT ADD naughty=SF,P=__=I,1,S ADD

9. Wot siya ugud=on da
SEQ III,3,S talk=OF,NP G,PL

da=dakkor de "Siya
CV,PL=big/adult N,S III,3,S

angrog=an=ni de adu danum=e
SF,NP:able=NR=II,1,PL,EX N,S many water=LK

in=inum=ni. 10. Adu de
P=drink(OF)=II,1,PL,EX many N,S

padas=ni. 11. Adu de tawon=e
experience=II,1,PL,EX many N,S year=LK

nangi=padas=an=ni."
SF,P=experience=NR=II,1,PL,EX

9. Therefore, this is what the old folk say, "The reason why we overrule your ideas is that we have lived a long time. 10. We have had lots of experience. 11. We have had many years of personal experience."

12. Sadi otyan de
D3 OPT N,S

angngor=an=yutte kuwa=ni ye
SF,NP:hear=NR=II,2,PL:O,S own=II,1,PL,EX LK

b=ar=an-og te nu sa awad=e tagu we
small=PL=__ CAUS HYP T,S EXT=LK live/person LK

ma=tu=tudu=wan, adu de sa kamat
OF,NP=CV=point=__ many N,S T,S EMPH

am=baru=wan ni angngor=anatte
SF,NP=good=NR G,S SF,NP:hear=NR:II,3,S:O,S

tut=tudu te di=pun ma=lingling=e
CVC=point CAUS NEG=MOD SF,NP=delay=LK

ma=tagu. 13. Adi=na pun odas=an
SF,NP=live/person NEG=II,3,S MOD find=OF,NP

de rigat tenna de tut=tudu we
N,S difficulty CAUS:D1 N,S CVC=point LK

12.*That is why you younger ones should listen to our ideas because there are many good reasons for a person to listen to advice. For example, he will not be hindered by the consequences of his wrong actions. 13. He will not have difficulties because he listened to advice; but when someone does not listen to advice, then he will have to learn by personal experience.

d=ing=ngor=na yakon nu sa awad=e di=pun
hear=P=__=II,3,S ADV HYP T,S EXT=LK NEG=MOD

angngor atte tut=tudu okod=na
SF,NP:hear O,S CVC=point LIM=II,3,S

ma=tut=tudu=wan ya padas=on os ni
OF,NP=CVC=point=__ CO experience=OF,NP ADD G,S

bungru=na.
body=II,3,S

14. Nu sin=-o=orgaw kan=am
HYP DIST=CV,PL=day say=RF,NP:II,2,S

am=bayad=na de bungru=na ya
SF,NP=payment=II,3,S N,S body=II,3,S CO

na=tut=tudu=wan da awad=e adi=pun
OF,P=CVC=point=__ G,PL EXT=LK NEG=MOD

d=um=ngor=e isu=na te nu
hear=SF,NP=__=LK same=II,3,S CAUS HYP

s=um=pak de amangu we
naughty=SF,NP=__ N,S SF,NP:first.in.series LK

kan=an=da ma=tut=tudu=wan da
say=RF,NP=II,3,PL OF,NP=CVC=point=__ G,PL

ang=gawa. 15. Ma=tut=tudu=wan=da
SF,NP=middle OF,NP=CVC=point=__=II,3,PL

da anguddidi te andi
G,PL SF,NP:youngest.child CAUS D3

namangu we nan=tut=tudu kan
SF,P:first.in.series LK SF,P=CVC=point O

dida. 16. Dakom=pos=e
III,3,PL NEG=MOD:ADD=LK

namangu de nan=-ur=-ullit yakon
SF,P:first.in.series N,S SF,P=CVC=story ADV

sa in=tollong de gunay=na,
T,S ACCF,P=watch N,S actions=II,3,S

an=so=songbat=natta ama=na.
SF,NP=CV,CONT=answer=II,3,S:O,PL father=II,3,S

14. Sometimes we say that he will pay the consequences. Then those who do not want to listen will pay attention because when it comes to giving advice to children, if the first child is troublesome, then those who come after him will listen.
15. The younger children will listen because they will have seen what happened to the oldest child.
16. They will not learn by listening to what the oldest child says, but by watching what he does and how he talks to adults.
17. That is the way they will obtain advice.

17. Sadi de kamat mangngor=an=datte
D3 N,S EMPH SF,NP:hear=NR=II,3,PL:O,S

tut=tudu.
CVC=point

18. Sa in=tollong=de
T,S ACCF,P=watch=II,3,PL:LK

ing=ko-one dakom=pun sadi de
MN=do/make:OF,NP:II,3,S=LK NEG=MOD D3 N,S

kamak nangngor=an=dak am=baru te
EMPH SF,P:hear=NR=II,3,PL:N,S SF,NP=good CAUS

sadi kuwa=n da da=dakkor=e ugud.
D3 own=LG G,PL CV,PL=big/adult=LK talk

19. "Nu ma=angs=an de
HYP SF,NP=breath/feeling=__ N,S

namangu, da nanguddidi
SF,P:first.in.series T,PL SF,P:youngest.child

k=um=bot=da. 20. Nu s=um=pak
bad=SF,NP=__=I,3,PL HYP naughty=SF,NP=__

de amangu,
N,S SF,NP:first.in.series

ma=angs=an da
SF,NP=breath/feeling=__ N,PL

anguddidi." 21. Sadi de kan=an
SF,NP:youngest.child D3 N,S say=RF,NP

da da=dakkor.
G,PL CV,PL=big/adult

18. They will benefit by observing the consequences of the oldest child's bad behavior. That is what the old folk say. 19. "If the first child is obedient, the younger ones will be troublesome. 20. If the oldest child is troublesome, the younger children will be obedient." 21. That is what the old folk say.

22. Wot sa sane
SEQ T,S D1:LK

mo=odas=an=takutte sana, gapu ta
SF,NP=find=NR=II,1,PL,IN:O,S now CIRC LK

d=umm=atong de adar anne
arrive=SF,P=__ N,S education D1:LK

i=lasi=taku we ba=baru.
ACCF,NP=exceed=II,1,PL,IN LK CV=new

22. Therefore the reason we are having trouble now in Lubo is because we young men have been putting ourselves above the old people. 23.*You younger ones are insisting on your own ideas because you say, "We have read a lot of different things in

23. I=lasi=yu we kak=-a=annak
ACCF,NP=exceed=II,2,PL LK RA=CV,INS=child

de kuwa=yu we ka=som=somk=an atta
N,S own=II,2,PL LK AB=CVC=think=__ O,PL

ama=yu te kan=yu we "Karasi
father=II,2,PL CAUS say=II,2,PL LK different

piin pay libru we b=in=asa=ni,"
ADV EMPH book LK read=P=__(OF)=II,1,PL,EX

yakon sa libru dakom=puk
ADV T,S book NEG=MOD:N,S

analimungmung atte biyag. 24. Sa
SF,NP:converging.point O,S life T,S

adar=on=takutte libru wenna,
education=OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX:O,S book LK:D1

tenna pos=e losan=taku nan=-uswila,
CAUS:D1 HORT=LK all=I,1,PL,IN SF,P=student

abus=e ossa=an=e karasi.
only=LK other/one=NR=LK different

25. Dakom=puk i=tut=tudu=na de
NEG=MOD:N,S ACCF=CVC=point=II,3,S N,S

awad=e udum=e an=salikun atte
EXT=LK other=LK AJR=awkward O,S

ma=tagu=wan. 26. Dakom=pun=e
SF,NP=live/person=NP NEG=MOD=LK

man=tut=tudu librutte losan=e ma=kwa.
SF,NP=CVC=point book:O,S all=LK SF,NP=do/make

27. Abus pos=e ossa=nggan.
only HORT=LK other/one=NR

28. Nu adar igaw=nu ya
HYP education place=II,2,S CO

mistru=ka, sa kina=mistru pagay de
teacher=I,2,S T,S AB=teacher EMPH N,S

igaw=nu. 29. Nu attorney de igaw=nu,
place=II,2,S HYP lawyer N,S place=II,2,S

books," but books will not cover everything in life. 24. What we learn from books is only one kind of learning because, after all, all of us have studied. 25. It will not teach you about the other problems in life. 26. Books will not teach you about all the things that have to be done in life. 27. It is only one kind of learning.

28. If you are for formal education, if you are a teacher, then teaching will be your position. 29. If you are a lawyer, then you will be for law. 30.*However, formal education does not

attorney gos. 30. Dakom=pun un
lawyer ADD NEG=MOD LK

sas=satt=ona de anne
CVC=do.thoroughly=OF,NP:II,3,S N,S D1:LK

i=tut=tudu=n da da=dakkor kan
ACCF,NP=CVC=point=LG G,PL CV,PL=big/adult O

ditaku otyan=e kak=-a=annak. 31. Wot
III,1,PL,IN OPT=LK RA=CV,INS=child SEQ

adi=taku otyan=e kak=-a=annak amod
NEG=II,1,PL,IN OPT=LK RA=CV,INS=child too.much

i=lasi ka i=tur=ay de
ACCF,NP=exceed CO ACCF,NP=exceed N,S

ka=som=somk=an=taku we kamak
AB=CVC=think=__=II,1,PL,IN LK EMPH

dor=dallu igammu=taku te
CVC,INS=more ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,IN CAUS

na=kurang=an=taku we kak=-a=annak=e sana
SF,P=lack=__=I,1,PL,IN LK RA=INS=child=LK now

te nu pion=taku otyan de
CAUS HYP like/want:OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN OPT N,S

awad=takutte kan=an=taku we adu
EXT=I,1,PL,IN:O,S say=RF,NP=II,1,PL,IN LK many

igammu=ni nu da da=dakkor,
ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,EX LK T,PL CV,PL=big/adult

um=una otyan=e adar=on=taku
SF,NP=first OPT=LK education=OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN

de kuwa=taku we lintog.
N,S own=II,1,PL,IN LK custom/law

teach us all that the old folk want us to learn. 31. So we younger ones should not insist on our ideas as though we know more than the old folk, because we don't. If we want to take the position that we know more than the old folk, then we shoud first learn about our own customs.

32. Nu mang=adar=taku,
HYP SF,NP=education=I,1,PL,IN

in=tur-ay=taku otyan de sanat
ACCF,P=exceed=II,1,PL,IN OPT N,S D2

i=gat-un, yakon siya lawing=ana kan
ACCF,NP=add ADV III,3,S bad=NR:II,3,S O

32. If we have been formally educated, then that should be added to the knowledge of our customs; but the trouble with us now is that even though we have had a formal education, we

ditaku we sana de imbes un
III,1,PL,IN LK now N,S in.spite.of LK

nan=-adar=taku gos
SF,P=education=I,1,PL,IN ADD

iw=walin=takos de
ACCF,P=put.aside=II,1,PL,IN:ADD N,S

d=in=a=dakkor. 33. Inn=amin=taku
CV,PL=MN=__=big/adult P=all(OF)=II,1,PL,IN

i=ballu de kadauyan=e kigad
ACCF,NP=throw.away N,S good.character=LK extent

atte oso=orgaw. 34. Anne
O,S other/one=day D1:LK

pion=taku pay de ditaku
like/want:OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN EMPH N,S III,1,PL,IN

otyan de tut=tuwa=on da da=dakkor
OPT N,S CVC=true=OF,NP G,PL CV,PL=big/adult

te anna de adar=e kamat andi
CAUS D1 N,S education=LK EMPH D3

i=baga=taku we
ACCF,NP=tell=II,1,PL,IN LK

angrog=an=taku, yakon sa
SF,NP:able=NR=II,1,PL,IN ADV T,S

kina=tut=tuwa=ana ip=pun
AB=CVC=true=__:II,3,S NEG,EXT,P=MOD

in=dor-ay=taku. 35. Abus pay de
ACCF,P=widen=II,1,PL,IN only EMPH N,S

adar. 36. Ip=pos
education NEG,EXT,P=MOD:ADD

igammu=takutte kuwa=taku we
ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,IN own=II,1,PL,IN LK

lintog=e um=ili. 37. Ip=pos
custom/law=LK SF,NP=place NEG,EXT,P=MOD:ADD

igammu=takutte lintog da
ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,IN:O,S custom/law G,PL

anne da=dakkor te di=taku
D1:LK CV,PL=big/adult CAUS NEG=I,1,PL,IN

have also tossed aside the ways of the old folk. 33. We have thrown away all of the customs from earlier times. 34. Now we want the old folk to believe us because of our formal education, because it is our formal education that we use to defeat the ideas of the old folk. But the truth is we have not increased our total knowledge. 35. We only have formal education. 36. We know nothing about our own customs. 37. We know nothing about the customs of the old folk because we do not want to listen to them. 38. So that is why we are going through this present trouble.

pos moryad d=um=ngor. 38. Wot sa
MOD:ADD SF,NP:like hear=SF,NP=__ SEQ T,S

sane ma=kwa=na=an=taku anne
D1:LK SF,NP=do/make=MN=NR=II,1,PL,IN D1:LK

im=padas=taku.
ACCF,P=experience=II,1,PL,IN

39. Sa sane timpu kan=yu we
T,S D1:LK time say=II,2,PL LK

b=ar=an-og "Ip=pun silbi=n ni ili.
small=PL=__ NEG,EXT,P=MOD use=LG G,S place

40. Ip=pun silbi=n ni lintog atte
NEG,EXT,P=MOD use=LG G,S custom/law O,S

ili. 41. Ip=pun silbi=n ni
place NEG,EXT,P=MOD use=LG G,S

mi=puuli=tatte ili=ta.
SF,NP=return=I,1,DL:O,S place=II,1,DL

42. Ip=pun silbi=n ni
NEG,EXT,P=MOD use=LG G,S

b=um=adang=tos atte ili=ta,"
help=SF,NP=__=I,1,DL:ADD O,S place=II,1,DL

te sadi in de
CAUS D3 CERT N,S

mangaw=-awat=an=nitte
SF,NP:CVC,CONT=understand=NR=II,1,Pl,EX:O,S

kuwa=yu we b=ar=an-og.
own=II,2,PL LK small=PL=__

43. Anna kad=e d=umm=atong atte sana,
D1 UM=LK arrive=SF,P=__ O,S now

sana de ma=tut=tudu=wan=taku, te
D1 N,S SF,NP=CVC=point=NR=II,1,PL,IN CAUS

na=gpas da podon, te sadi nangatod
SF,P=cut N,PL peacepact CAUS D3 SF,P:give

atte inum=das=an=taku tendi ye
O,S SF,P=find=NR=II,1,PL,IN CAUS:D3 LK

39. Now you younger ones are saying, "The community is of no use to us. 40. There is no point in the customs of the community. 41. There is no point in returning to our community. 42. There is no point in our helping our community," because that is what we understand you to mean, you younger ones.

43.*This current trouble should be a lesson to us. The peacepacts are broken, and they are broken because you younger ones keep on insisting on your own ideas. 44. Where is your claim that the old folk are of no use? 45. Where is your

na=gpas da podon, te sa
SF,P=cut N,PL peacepact CAUS T,S

som=somok=yu we b=ar=an-og=e
CVC=think=II,2,PL LK small=PL=__=LK

i=tur-ay=yu de kuwa=yu, wot anna
ACCF,NP=exceed=II,2,PL N,S own=II,2,PL SEQ D1

kad=e na=gpas da podon=e sana dimmos
UM=LK SF,P=cut N,PL peacepact=LK now INT:ADD

de kan=taku we ip=pun
N,S say=II,1,PL,IN LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD

angwa=an=takul Lubo. 44. Dimmos
SF,NP:do/make=NR=II,1,PL,IN:L Lubo INT:ADD

de kan=an=taku we ip=pun
N,S say=RF,NP=II,1,PL,IN LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD

silbi=n da da=dakkor? 45. Dimmos de
use=LG G,PL CV,PL=big/adult INT:ADD N,S

kan=taku we ip=pun silbi=n ni
say=II,1,PL,IN LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD use=LG G,S

lintog? 46. Dimmos de
custom/law INT:ADD N,S

pion=taku ipi=ila
like/want:OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN CAUS,ACCF,NP=see

otyan kuma we sa mi=tur-ay=an=taku?
OPT OPT LK T,S SF,NP=exceed=NR=II,1,PL,IN

claim that the old customs have no purpose? 46. Where is your eagerness to show that we know more?

47. Sana otyan ya
now OPT CO

impi=ila=taku de mi=tur-ay=an
CAUS,ACCF,P=see=II,1,PL,IN N,S SF,NP=exceed=NR

ni som=somok=taku wenne b=ar=an-og
G,S CVC=think=II,1,Pl,IN LK:D1:LK small=PL=__

tenne d=umm=atong de
CAUS:D1:LK arrive=SF,P=__ N,S

ma=tut=tudu=wan=taku losan wenne
SF,NP=CVC=point=NR=II,1,PL,IN all LK:D1:LK

47. Now is the time for us younger ones to prove that we know more because the time has come for us to heed the advice of the old folk. 48. Now is the time for us to show the old folk that we have a better understanding of things. 49.*When have we ever settled a broken peacepact by working through the

kak=-a=annak. 48. D=umm=atong de
RA=CV,INS=anak arrive=SF,P=__ N,S

angil=-an da da=dakkor atte
SF,NP:see=NR G,PL CV,PL=big/adult O,S

kan=taku we in=tur-ay=taku.
say=II,1,PL,IN LK ACCF,P=exceed=II,1,PL,IN

49. Dimmos gangput=on=takutta sane
INT:ADD finish=OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN:O,PL D1:LK

lintog ni podotte
custom/law G,S peacepact:O,S

k=in=abagaang? 50. Siya
group.of.villages=NR=__ III,3,S

anna=an=takul Lubo we sana.
D1=NR=II,1,PL,IN:L LUbo LK now

custom of the peacepact? 50. This is why we are in Lubo now.

51. Wot mi=por-og kos de sane
SEQ SF,NP=repair UM:ADD N,S D1:LK

lintog som=somok os da da=dakkor.
custom/law CVC=think ADD G,PL CV,PL=big/adult

52. Som=somok os=e da=daan atte ili, de
CV.C=think ADD=LK CV=old O,S place N,S

sane mi=por-og=an da lintog.
D1:LK SF,NP=repair=NR G,PL custom/law

51. So when this trouble is finally settled, it will be the result of the old folk's thinking on the matter. 52. It will be the thinking of the old folk in the community that will restore the broken peacepact.

53. Wot agay=taku we angi=namnam
SEQ stop=II,1,PL,IN LK SF,NP=brag

atte kuwa=taku we som=somok kan=e "Dallu
O,S own=II,1,PL,IN LK CVC=think say=LK more

igammu=ni ye b=ar=an-og.
ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,EX LK small=PL=__

54. Dallu igammu=ni te
more ACCF,NP:know=II,1,PL,EX CAUS

nam=basa=kani." 55. Nam=basa=taku,
SF,P=book=I,1,PL,IN SF,P=book=I,1,PL,IN

yakon dakom=put duknag atte lintog ni
ADV NEG=MOD:N,S arrive O,S custom/law G,S

53. Therefore, we should stop bragging to ourselves saying, "We younger ones know more than the old folk. 54. We know more because we have gone to school." 55. All of us have gone to school, but formal education does not cover what we need to know concerning the customs of the community. 56. It does not cover actions that need to be controlled or stop bad behavior

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ili.  56. Dakom=put   duknag atte
place     NEG=MOD:N,S arrive 0,S

mampa=ginok        kan ditaku       ya mangigimau
CAUS,SF,NP=silent  O   III,1,PL,IN  CO SF,NP=stop

kan ditaku       de   sane  kuwa=taku        we
O   III,1,PL,IN  N,S  D1:LK own=II,1,PL,IN   LK

lintog      tenna   de  podon=e        sissiya kan
custom/law  CAUS:D1 N,S peacepact=LK   still   O

ditaku,      te    sana  podon=e        mangatod
III,1,PL,IN  CAUS  D1    peacepact=LK   SF,NP:give

atte i=Lubo=ka             onnu
O,S  person.of=Lubo=I,2,S  ALT

i=Mangali=ka              onnu ngai
person.of=Mangali=I,2,S   ALT  INT:G,S

ili=m.
place=II,2,S
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     57. Sana podon=e
         D1   peacepact=LK

k=in=abagaang=e                man=tuntun   kan
group.of.villages=NR=__=LK     SF,NP=follow O

ditaku       we ni=purad                       atte
III,1,PL,IN  LK SF,P=place.in.palm.of.hand     O,S

niy=anak=an=taku             te    nu   miid
SF,P=child=NR=II,1,PL,IN     CAUS  HYP  NEG,EXT,NP

de   podon,     ma=kwe             sa
N,S  peacepact  SF,NP=do/make:LK   T,S

ugud=on=taku              wenne
talk=OF,NP=II,1,PL,IN     LK:D1:LK

kad=da=dakkor             tut=tuwa  nin   te
RA=CV,INS=big/adult       CVC=true  POSS  CAUS

ma=tagu=taku                      attennat  Tabuk
SF,NP=live/person=I,1,PL,IN       O,S:D1:L  Tabuk

ma=tagu=takuttennam                          Manila,
SF,NP=live/person=I,1,PL,IN:O,S:D1:L         Manila
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as our customs do, because the peacepact is still with us. After all, it is the peacepact that gives you your identity as a Lubo or a Mangali or of whatever community you come from.

57. This peacepact that has been given to us from birth is what gives us our identity. If the peacepact did not exist, what the younger ones say might be true. We might be able to live in Tabuk, we might be able to live in Manila, we might be able to live any place. 58. That just might happen; however, considering the current situation, it would be good for us all to think about what has happened. It would be good for all the people of Lubo, all of us in the community, to be united in seeking the good of the community because these current delays are a waste.

barang=ne lugar=e
any=II,3,S:LK place=LK

ma=tagu=wan=taku.
SF,NP=live/person=NR=II,1,PL,IN

58. Ma=kwe duknag de sadi, yakon
SF,NP=do/make:LK arrive N,S D3 ADV

anna kad=e d=umm=atong=e sana am=baru ta
D1 UM=LK arrive=SF,P=__=LK now SF,NP=good LK

losan=taku som=somk=on, ta ngan kad ni
all=II,1,PL,IN CVC=think=OF,NP LK INT UM G,S

awad=e som=somok=taku, otyan nu duknag
EXT=LK CVC=think=II,1,PL,IN OPT LK arrive

atte am=baru de som=somok=taku we
O,S SF,NP=good N,S CVC=think=II,1,PL,IN LK

sane losan=e i=Lubo, yakon ditaku
D1:LK all=LK person.of=Lubo ADV III,1,Pl,IN

we sane um=ili
LK D1:LK SF,NP=place

an=tawili=takutte
SF,NP=look.back.in.same.direction=I,1,PL,IN:O,S

b=um=aru=wan=taku ta kenga de
good=SF,NP=__=NR=II,1,PL,IN CAUS waste N,S

taktak=taku we sane b=in=i=bigat.
delay=II,1,PL,IN LK D1:LK CV=REP=__=morning

59. Kenga de tawon=e sane
waste N,S year=LK D1:LK

um=aya=ayaw te nu awad=takutte
SF,NP=CVCV,REP=leave CAUS HYP EXT=I,1,PL,IN:O,S

ma=gaga=takutta na=toy, andi,
SF,NP=attach=I,1,PL,IN:O,PL SF,P=die D3

ip=pun ka=dor-ay=an=taku.
NEG,EXT,P=MOD AB=widen=__=II,1,PL,IN

60. Dog=dog=-an=taku wot da
CVC,REP=add=RF,NP=II,1,PL,IN SEQ N,PL

ma=toy nu awad=takutte
SF,NP=die HYP EXT=I,1,PL,IN:O,S

59.*These past years have been a waste because when we are so attached to the dead we have no alternative for settling the peacepact. 60.*Consequently, we will only add to the dead, if we are going to be so attached to those who have already died. 61. That is why our stand should be for our children who are growing up, for their education, for their means of making a living in the future, because these customs of ours between communities are likely to be discarded in the future.

ma=gaga=takutta na=toy.
SF,NP=attach=I,1,PL,IN:O,PL SF,P=die

61. Siya otyan igaw=taku de siya
III,3,S OPT place=II,1,PL,IN N,S III,3,S

ka=gaga=an=taku da sane
AB=attach=__=II,1,PL,IN N,PL D1:LK

t=um=ub=tubu we in=anak=an=taku,
CVC,CONT=SF,NP=__=leaf LK P=child=NR=II,1,PL,IN

sa ang=-adar=an=da, sa
T,S SF,NP=education=NR=II,3,PL T,S

i=biyag=dak osak orgaw
ACCF,NP=life=II,3,PL:N,S other/one:N,S day

te sa anne lintog=taku we
CAUS T,S D1:LK custom/law=II,1,PL,IN LK

k=in=abagaang, ma=kaan nin ak
group.of.villages=NR=__ SF,NP=remove POSS N,S

osak orgaw.
other/one:LK day

Cultural notes for MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE WAY THINGS ARE TODAY

Introductory comment: The background for this text is the actual situation in which the people of Lubo were involved at that time. Good relations had been severed between Lubo and several neighboring tribal groups. Revenge killings had been the cause of the trouble.

In revenge killing, anyone from the enemy community is a legitimate target. Consequently, many people from Lubo who had been working and living in other communities and towns had returned to Lubo because their physical safety was in jeopardy. Because of the sudden increase in people, housing in Lubo was crowded, food was scarce, and many people were unhappy to see their hopes and plans for a better, more prosperous future interrupted indefinitely. A major question at the time was who was to blame for the current state of affairs.

2. dadakkor - old folk, from the root dakor 'big', or 'adult'
ban-og - young (root)
baran-og - younger ones (-ar- is a pluralizer)
kaban-og - childhood
antuttudu - to give advice or counsel; from the root tudu 'point'
ansuru - to teach, with reference to formal schooling
an-adar - to learn
an-uswila - to study, from the root uswila 'student'

5. Here begins a major theme in the text: the tension between the younger generation and the older generation. Traditionally, older people have been accorded considerable respect. Their counsel has been listened to and obeyed. The community has looked to older men for leadership. Older men are considered more capable of leading the community than younger men because of their greater experience and the knowledge they have gained over the years.

In recent years, the younger generation has had access to higher levels of education that were unavailable to most of the older generation. At times younger people with a good education have used their education as an excuse to disregard the counsel of the older generation and voice their own opinions. This has caused considerable tension between the two generations. The older generation is unhappy with what they see as the breakdown of traditional values and the lack of responsibility in the younger generation. The younger generation tends to see many of the tribal traditions as irrelevant to the lifestyle they hope to attain.

12. Although the speaker is in his forties and a recognized leader in the community, he identifies himself with both the older adults of the community and with the young men.

23. ama - literally, 'father'; however in this context it means 'elder'

30. kak-aannak - younger ones, from root anak 'child'

43. Podon 'peacepact' is a formal agreement between the people of two communities to establish good relations between the communities. It extends safe travel and trading privileges to members of the communities. It also prohibits theft and killing of people between the communities. The peacepact is enforced by peacepact holders: a man or woman from each community who guarantees to punish those from their own community who break the rules of the peacepact.

The peacepact is governed by a set of by-laws called patta which list and define crimes that are punishable under the peacepact. These by-laws are retained in the memories of the elders of the community and reviewed periodically at community events in order to refresh everyone's memory and to teach the by-laws to the children.

49. Kinabagaang refers to the relationship between two communities. When that relationship has been severed the term kinabagaang becomes synonymous with tribal war.

59-60. These statements refer to the practice of revenge killing. If someone in a family is murdered the dead person's relatives are obligated to avenge his death. Any member of the killer's community can be killed in revenge. It does not have to be the person who did the killing. The practice of revenge killing makes it difficult for a person to travel and live away from his community, since the only safe place for him is his own village.

In the past this custom has been a very strong tradition. Today the custom has come into conflict with the desire of people to move to bigger towns and cities in order to earn more money and attain a higher standard of living.

15 SA KA=SOM=SOMK=AK ELATTA
T,S AB=CVC=think=__:II,1,S HORT:O,PL

MAK=MA=KWE SANA
CVC,PL=SF,NP=do/make:LK now

By Juan Dagadag

1. Sakon=e sana anne iy=yak
III,1,S=LK now D1:LK go=I,1,S

iy=ugud de som=somok=ku we akit=e
ACCF,NP=talk N,S CVC=think=II,1,S LK few=LK

im=bu=burs=ak te dokayya
ACCF,P=CV,CONT=pocket=I,1,S CAUS POSS

no=ottag ya ip=pun ela angngor.
SF,P=fall CO NEG,EXT,P=MOD HORT SF,NP:hear

2. Sakon=e sana anak=ak pagay ak
III,1,S=LK now child=I,1,S EMPH N,S

mi=bilang ak dakor ya dakor=ak
SF,NP=count N,S big/adult CO big/adult=I,1,S

os ak mi=bilang ak anak. 3. Wot nu ngai
ADD N,S SF,NP=count N,S child SEQ LK INT:G,S

ugud=ok agag=ku nin adi=pun
talk=OF,NP:II,1,S partial=II,1,S POSS NEG=MOD

ma=awat=an te di=k pun
SF,NP=understand=__ CAUS NEG=II,1,S MOD

igammu igaw=ku. 4. Anak=ak nin
ACCF,NP:know place=II,1,S child=I,1,S POSS

onnu lakay=ak nin. 5. Tuan.
ALT man=I,1,S POSS I.don't.know

6. Anna kad=e sana de timpu
D1 ADT=LK now N,S time

umm=am=-amod ma=tarak de
SF,P=CVC,INS=too.much SF,NP=lose N,S

ka=som=somok=ak atte sane
AB=CVC=think=__:II,1,S O,S D1:LK

MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE CURRENT HAPPENINGS

*1.*Now I am going to talk about a few thoughts of my own that I have put in my pocket; otherwise, they might drop out and no one would hear them. 2.*I am too young to be considered an adult, and I am too old to be considered a child. 3.*So whatever I say might sound as if I do not know what I am talking about, because I do not know where I stand. 4. Perhaps I am a child, or perhaps I am an adult. 5. I do not know.

6. The way things are now, I am even more confused in my understanding of the current happenings. 7. It is true that these days everyone is having trouble. 8. We are afraid of

makwa=ma=kwa. 7. Tut=tuwe sa sane
DBL=SF,NP=do/make CVC=true:LK T,S D1:LK

timpu ip=pun adi l=umm=awing.
time NEG,EXT,P=MOD NEG bad=SF,P=__

8. Ip=pun adi=ta ma=kimt=an.
NEG,EXT,P=MOD NEG=II,1,DL OF,NP=afraid=__

9. I=tudu=wak kan dikayu we
ACCF,NP=point=I,1,S O III,2,PL LK

da=dakkor ak gapu=n ni sane timpu
CV,PL=big/adult N,S source=LG G,S D1:LK time

we l=umm=awing. 10. I=baga=yu we
LK bad=SF,P=__ ACCF,NP=tell=II,2,PL LK

di=yak pun d=um=ngor.
NEG=I,1,S MOD hear=SF,NP=__

11. I=baga=yu we ip=pun adi
ACCF,NP=tell=II,2,S LK NEG,EXT,P=MOD NEG

ni in=datong atta
G,S ACCF,P=arrive O,PL

an=tok=tokon=e l=um=awing=an.
SF,NP=CVC,PL=different=LK bad=SF,NP=__=NR

12. Man=-akaw=kani pay.
SF,NP=steal=I,1,PL,EX EMPH

13. Ang=gobaw=kani pay.
SF,NP=rape=I,1,PL,EX EMPH

14. Kan=an=ni kad=e "Di=kayu
say=RF,NP=II,1,PL,EX UM=LK NEG=I,2,PL

angwak lawing," d=umm=allu=kayu
SF,NP:do/make:N,S bad more=SF,P=__=I,2,PL

wot. 15. Kan=an=ni kad=e "Di=yu
SEQ say=RF,NP=II,1,PL,EX UM=LK NEG=II,2,PL

ap=-aptin=on da tubay=yu,"
CVC,CONT=carry.in.hand=OF,NP N,PL spear=II,2,PL

d=umm=allu=kayu gos. 16. "Losan=e
more=SF,P=__=I,2,PL ADD all=LK

everyone.

9. You old folk accuse me of being the cause of this bad situation. 10. You say I do not follow advice. 11. You say I have brought every possible kind of trouble. 12. We steal. 13. We rape. 14. You say, "Whenever we say, 'Don't make trouble', you become even worse as a result. 15.*Whenever we say, 'Don't carry your guns', you become even worse still. 16. You bring all kinds of trouble.

ka=dadag=an i=datong=yu pay.
AB=wrong=__ ACCF,NP=arrive=II,2,PL EMPH

17. Kan=an=ta pun nu
say=RF,NP=II,1,DL SM LK

nan=-adar=kayu. 18. Anna pos=e
SF,P=education=I,2,PL D1 HORT=LK

lal=laing=on=yu." 19. Tut=tuwa
CV=intelligence=OF,NP=__=II,2,PL CVC=true

sanat. 20. Di=ni pun sulib=on de
D2 NEG=II,1,PL,EX MOD deny=OF,NP N,PL

sanat, yakon i=taang=yu sakon ta
D2 ADV ACCF,NP=allow=II,2,PL III,1,S LK

i=baga=k de kuwa=k=e
ACCF,NP=tell=II,1,S N,S own=II,1,S=LK

som=somok.
CVC=think

17. We thought that you were educated. 18. This is the way you answer us, claiming that you are more educated." 19. That is true. 20. We do not deny those things, but allow me to say a few words of my own.

21. Imus=ok ud kan dikayu nu
ask=OF,NP:II,1,S PR O III,2,PL LK

ngai nangi=datong kan dikani tenne
INT:G,S SF,P=arrive O III,1,PL,EX O,S:D1:LK

lawing=e orgaw=taku. 22. Imus=ok ud
bad=LK day=II,1,PL,IN ask=OF,NP:II,1,S PR

nu ngan da nama=dakor kan
LK INT G,PL CAUS,SF,P=big/adult O

dikani. 23. Imus=ok ud nu ngan
III,1,PL,EX ask=OF,NP:II,1,S PR LK INT

da nanut=tudu kan dikani. 24. Ngan
G,PL SF,P:CVC=point O III,1,PL,EX INT

da mistur=ni. 25. Iyy=anak
G,PL teacher=II,1,PL,EX ACCF,P=child

dikanittenne orgaw=yu we
IV,1,PL,EX:O,S:D1:LK day=II,2,PL LK

da=dakkor=e anna ata=ni anna
CV,PL=big/adult=LK D1 eye=II,1,PL,EX D1

21. May I ask who brought us into these troubled times? 22. May I ask who raised us? 23. May I ask who counseled us? 24. Who are our teachers? 25. We who were born during your time, we have eyes, we have ears, we have hearts.

inga=ni   anna pusu=ni.
ear=II,1,PL,EX D1   heart=II,1,PL,EX

26. Da   anne koon=ni
    T,PL D1:LK do/make:OF,NP=II,1,PL,EX

toron p=in=am=panni=ni.   27. Toron
PROB CVC=P=__=copy(OF)=II,1,PL,EX   PROB

sana da   t=in=a=tangad=nitte   ili
D1   N,PL CV=P=__=upright=II,1,PL,EX:O,S place

wot i=dakor=ni.
SEQ ACCF,NP=big/adult=II,1,PL,EX

28. Tuan.   29. Te   nu ip=pun
    I.don't.know   CAUS HYP NEG,EXT,P=MOD

nin nan=-akaw adi=kani   pun nin otyan
POSS SF,P=steal NEG=I,1,PL,EX MOD POSS OPT

man=-akaw. 30. Nu ip=pun   nin otyan
SF,NP=steal   HYP NEG,EXT,P=MOD POSS OPT

d=ing=ngor=nik   nang=gobaw,
hear=P=__(OF)=II,1,PL,EX:N,S SF,P=rape

di=kani   pun nin otyan mang=gobaw.
NEG=I,1,PL,EX MOD POSS OPT   SF,NP=rape

31. Nu miid   da
    HYP NEG,EXT,NP N,PL

k=inn=ing=wa=yu   we podon
do/make=NR=P=__(OF)=II,2,PL LK peacepact

ip=pun   nin k=in=abagaang.
NEG,EXT,P=MOD POSS group.of.villages=NR=__

32. Sa podon   am=baru,   yakon pamos
    T,S peacepact SF,NP=good ADV   INT:ADD

am=balin   ak lisinsiya=n da
SF,NP=possible N,S license=LG G,PL

p=um=a=toy?   33. Dikayu   nangwa   wot
CAUS=SF,NP=__=die   III,2,PL SF,P:do/make SEQ

igammu=yu   sarad=na,
ACCF,NP:know=II,2,PL start=II,3,S

26. These things we are doing we have copied from you.
27. You have been our example, since we grew up looking to you.
28. I do not know.
29. However, if there had never been any stealing, we would not be stealing. 30. If we had never heard anything about rape, we would not rape.
31. If you had not invented peacepacts, there would be no tribal war. 32. The peacepact is good, but why is it used as a license for killers?
33. You made the peacepact, so you know how it began.

norpu=wana.
SF,P:origin=NR:II,3,S

34. Otyan kammos nu umman=yu
OPT EMPH LK HORT=II,2,PL

dikani d=in=iwin ak am=baru.
III,1,PL,EX form.clay=P=__(OF) N,S SF,NP=good

35. Otyan in nu umman=yu dikani
OPT CERT LK HORT=II,2,PL III,1,PL,EX

iyy=adayutta lawing ta miid otyan
ACCF,P=far:O,PL bad CGT NEG,EXT,NP OPT

d=ing=ngor=ni. 36. Sana nin de
hear=P=__(OF)=II,1,PL,EX D1 POSS N,S

kan=de "Nu pagoy de
say=II,3,PL:LK HYP unhusked.rice N,S

i=mura=m, pagoy
ACCF,NP=plant=II,2,S unhusked.rice

ani=yom. 37. Dakom=puk
rice.harvest=OF,NP:II,2,S NEG=MOD:N,S

suwiik nu ummam tangkon=an. 38. Wot
weed HYP HORT:II,2,S care.for=RF,NP SEQ

ngai inon=tos ele am=-ammok."
INT:G,S way=II,1,DL:ADD HORT:LK CVC=think

39. Sa sana nin de kan=an=yu we
T,S D1 POSS N,S say=RF,NP=II,2,PL LK

da=dakkor=e "Asi gay mam=pulin
CV,PL=big/adult=LK LIM EMPH SF,NP=sort.out

te ngos ni am=pangat=an da pangat
CAUS INT:ADD G,S SF,NP=leader=NR G,PL leader

nu miid os angwak lawing?"
HYP NEG,EXT,NP ADD SF,NP:do/make:N,S bad

34.*We wish you had taken as much care with us as you do when you make a clay pot. 35. We wish that you had been careful to keep us from bad influences so that we would not have been contaminated by them. 36. Maybe you say, "If you plant rice, you harvest rice. 37.*There will be no weeds if you carefully tend the rice. 38. So what can we do about it?" 39. Maybe you say, "It will sort itself out, because what is the point of having leaders if there is no trouble?"

Cultural notes for MY THOUGHTS ABOUT THE CURRENT HAPPENINGS

Introductory comment: This text was written in response to Jose Sicnao's text "My Thoughts About the Way Things are Today," and presents another view.

1. ibursa - to put in one's pocket; the root is bursa 'pocket'
ansomsomok - to think (generic)
am-ammok - to think, with emphasis on the manner of thinking

2. The speaker is about 30 years old and married, which gives him adult standing in the community. However he is still too young and inexperienced to have the influence of an older man in the community.

3. Because the speaker does not have the full influence of an older man, he softens his statements with preliminary qualifying remarks. In Lubo, the custom is that anyone may voice an opinion at a public gathering, regardless of his age, so long as his argument is well-constructed and makes sense.

15. Carrying terms:

ang-aptin - to carry in one's hand; it refers to light objects
ambukud - to carry a heavy item; women carry heavy articles on their heads and men carry heavy articles on their shoulders
ang-akut - to carry a quantity of wood, reeds, rice, etc. over a distance, with stress on the distance
ang-agtu - to carry on one's head
antuktukkoy - to carry on one's head without holding onto the object with one's hands
ang-akpit - to carry an item by tucking it under one's arm
ambulig - to carry a person or object by slinging it from a pole, with a man supporting each end of the pole; it refers to sick or injured people (lying in a blanket which is tied to the pole), animals, goods such as sacks of rice and sugar, or even a large rock which is lashed to the pole
ang-adangway - same as ambulig, but refers to lighter objects or people (such as a child)
ang-aba - to carry a child on one's back

34. andiwin - to make a clay pot
amparang - to make a house

37. mura - a cultivated plant or tree

lugam - weed
suwiik - a kind of weed found in rice fields or the dikes of rice fields; it has a grain like wheat and leaves like a rice plant

16 ANNAYA DA BILIN=KU
here.is N,PL verbal.instructions=II,1,S

HERE ARE MY INSTRUCTIONS

By Dalen Do-ayan

1. Bilin=ok
verbal.instruction=OF,NP:II,1,S

dikayu we anak=ku te iy=yak
III,2,PL LK child=II,1,S CAUS go=I,1,S

maka=siminar ab Barangao ak opat orgaw.
PART,SF,NP=seminar L Balangao TI four day

2. Annaya da
here.is N,PL

i=bilin=ku kan dikayu.
ACCF,NP=verbal.instruction=II,1,S O III,2,PL

3. Sika kad Raol, adi=ka s=um=pak.
III,2,S ADT Raol NEG=I,2,S naughty=SF,NP=__

4. Adi=kayu Romel kan da Baldo yak John
NEG=I,2,PL Romel CO N,PL Baldo CO:N,S John

s=um=pak. 5. Ummayuk John
naughty=SF,NP=__ HORT:II,2,PL:N,S John

tang=tangkon=an tenne in=kani
CVC,CONT=care.for=RF,NP CAUS:D1:LK go=I,1,PL,EX

maka=siminar ab Barangao tenne
PART,SF,NP=seminar L Balangao CAUS:D1:LK

i=tallay=ku potog.
ACCF,NP=take.with=II,1,S nursing.baby

6. Ip=pun tangkon=an=yuk
NEG,EXT,P=MOD care.for=RF,NP=II,1,PL:N,S

osak bam=ban-it ak anak. 7. Abus ak
other/one:N,S CVC=small N,S child only N,S

John te agag umm=igammu takon nu
John CAUS partial SF,P=know CONC LK

i=tag=taggakad=yu atta
ACCF,NP=CVC,CONT=keep.with=II,2,PL O,PL

1.*I am giving you children instructions because I am going to Balangao for four days for a seminar. 2. Here are my instructions. 3. Now you, Raol, don't be naughty. 4. Don't be naughty either, Romel and Baldo and John. 5.*You be careful to take care of John because we are going to a seminar in Balangao and I will take the baby with me. 6. You will not have any other little children to take care of. 7. There will only be John, because he only knows a little bit about how to take care of himself even though you take him with you wherever you go.

ay=an=yu.
go=NR=II,2,PL

8. Dikayu kad Raol adi=kayu upan
II,2,PL ADT Raol NEG=I,2,PL HAB

ang=—isna kan da ang=—apuy te
SF,NP=cooked.rice CO PL SF,NP=fire CAUS

dokayya nan=sogob=kayu. 9. Upan=yu
POSS SF,P=burn=I,2,PL HAB=II,2,PL

pu=utu kan Bernadette da
CAUS,OF,NP=cook O Bernadette N,PL

kan=on=yu ya asi=na ot ten=an
eat=OF,NP=II,2,PL CO LIM=II,3,S SEQ leave=RF,NP

dikayu te dokayya nan=sogob=kayu,
III,2,PL CAUS POSS SF,P=burn=I,2,S

tenne amod de ligat.
CAUS:D1:LK too.much N,S dry

8.*Now you, Raol, don't cook the rice and make the fire because you might burn down the house. 9. You have Bernadette cook your food before she leaves you, because you might burn down the house since the grass roof is very dry.

10. Kan sika Raol, agay=nu we upan
CO III,2,S Raol stop=II,2,S LK HAB

s=um=pak. 11. Adi=ka upan
naughty=SF,NP=__ NEG=I,2,S HAB

angwak lawing. 12. Adi=ka
SF,NP=do/make:N,S bad NEG=I,2,S

maka=patoy te mi=puuli=yak nu
PART,SF,NP=fight CAUS SF,NP=return=I,1,S HYP

ma=abus de opat orgaw as sina.
SF,NP=finish N,S four day L D1

13. Ummayuk John tangkon=an.
HORT:II,2,PL:N,S John care.for=RF,NP

10. And you, Raol, don't keep on being naughty. 11. Don't keep on making trouble. 12. Don't fight, because I am going to return after four days. 13. You be careful to take good care of John.

14. Awag gad pa=kwa=n Bernadette
EXT UM CAUS,NR=do/make=LG Bernadette

kan dikayu, dongr=on=yu. 15. Da
O III,2,PL hear=OF,NP=II,2,PL T,PL

sakdu kan da uras we um=oy
fetch.water CO T,PL wash.pots LK SF,NP=go

14. Whenever Bernadette has things for you to do, you obey her.
15. Bernadette is going to have you get water and wash pots so you do it. 16. If she tells you something,

Bernadette pa=kwa,
Bernadette CAUS,NR=do/make

koon=yu. 16. Nu awad
do/make:OF,NP=II,2,PL HYP EXT

i=baga=na, dongr=on=yus
ACCF,NP=tell=II,3,S hear=OF,NP=II,2,PL:N,S

siya tenne iy=yak
III,3,S CAUS:D1:LK go=I,1,S

maka=siminar=e ina=yu, te
PART,SF,NP=seminar=LK mother=II,2,PL CAUS

ip=pun udum ak angiy=utu ya
NEG,EXT,P=MOD other N,S SF,NP=cook CO

angi=sakdu kan dikayu.
SF,NP=fetch.water O III,2,PL

17. Sa anne boroy=taku,
T,S D1:LK house=II,1,PL,IN

ummayu gos upan darus=an nu
HORT:II,2,PL ADD HAB clean=RF,NP HYP

iy=yak=on=e sana. 18. Iy=yak
go=I,1,S=OF,NP=LK now go=I,1,S

maka=siminar=e sana ta
PART,SF,NP=seminar=LK now CTG

mi=puuli=yak kad we sadi oni pay os
SF,NP=return=I,1,S UM LK D3 later EMPH ADD

am=baru de duknagak atte
SF,NP=good N,S arrive=NR:II,1,S O,S

boroy=taku nu am=porkas kan da
house=II,1,PL,IN HYP AJR=clean CO PL

d=inum=ngor=kayu.
hear=SF,P=__=I,2,PL

19. Ummayu da anne udum=e
HORT=II,2,PL N,PL D1:LK other=LK

sunud=yu te daan=da pun um=igammu
sibling=II,2,PL CAUS NEG=I,3,PL MOD SF,NP=know

you obey her because I am going to take a trip, and there is no one else to cook for you and to get water for you.

17. You be careful, too, to keep our house clean because I am going now. 18. I am going to a seminar now, so when I return later on it will be nice if the house is clean and you have been obedient.

19.*You take really good care of your brothers because they do not know how to do things by themselves yet, and you take care

ya ummayuk John te dokayya
CO HORT=II,2,PL:N,S John CAUS POSS

in=ottag=yu. 20. Nu l=um=ung-ud
P=fall(OF)=II,2,PL HYP go.to.work=SF,NP=__

ap Bernansi yap Bernadette,
N,S Bernansi Co:N,S Bernadette

tang=tangkon=an=yuk John te
CVC,CONT=care.for=RF,NP=II,2,PL:N,S John CAUS

daan=na pun koon igammu=won=e
NEG=II,3,S MOD do/make:OF,NP know=OF,NP=LK

inggaw atte boroy.
present O,S house

of John because you might let him fall. 20.*If Bernansi and Bernadette go to work, you take care of John because he does not know how to stay home alone yet.

Cultural notes for HERE ARE MY INSTRUCTIONS

1. Bilin refers to verbal instructions. It can be instructions given to children, a verbal message sent with a messenger, or the last words of advice and counsel from someone who is dying.

5. Children are expected to care for younger brothers and sisters. They begin their caretaking duties almost as soon as a younger brother or sister arrives in the family.

Terms for children:

potog - infant that is still nursing
utting - same as potog
anak - child (generic)

8. Just as children are expected to help care for younger siblings, they are also expected to help with household chores such as lighting cooking fires, cooking rice, fetching water, washing pots and dishes, and cleaning the house.

Terms for household chores:

ang-utu - to cook (generic)
anakdu - to fetch water
angkiwas - to wash dishes and pots
ang-uras - to scrub soot off pots
ansaksak - to wash clothes
allampasu - to polish the floor with a coconut husk, lampasu
anggusugus - to mop the floor
ang-apuy - to light a fire
antongog - to go to a neighbor's house, light a small torch made of

dried reeds from their cooking fire, and return home with the flaming torch in order to light one's own cooking fire

19. Houses in Lubo are built on posts several feet off the ground. Most houses have a small raised porch attached to the front of the house with a wooden ladder reaching to the ground. Infants and toddlers are watched carefully to guard against them falling off the porch or down the wooden steps.

20. Work terms:

siput - work
ansiput - to work
lumung-ud - to go to work

Appendix A - Pronoun Chart

person/number	I	II	III	IV
singular				
1	-ak	-ku/-k	sakon	
2	-ka	-nu/-m	sika	dika
3	-0	-na	siya	
plural				
1-inclusive	-taku	-taku	ditaku	
1-dual	-ta	-ta	dita	dita
1-exclusive	-kani	-ni	dikani	
2	-kayu	-yu	dikayu	
3	-da	-da	dida	

Notes:

1. Pronoun set I are nominative enclitic pronouns which attach to subject focus verbs.

2. Pronoun set II are genitive enclitic pronouns which attach to nonsubject focus verbs. Pronoun set II are also possessor pronouns.

3. Pronoun set III are nominative free-standing pronouns that replace focus noun phrases.

4. Pronoun set IV are nominative free-standing pronouns that replace focus noun phrases. The occurrence of set IV pronouns is less common than set III pronouns, but the exact function of set IV pronouns has not yet been determined.

5. Alternate forms -k and -m of pronoun set II attach to words ending in vowels. Forms -ku and -nu attach to words ending in consonants. (See Appendix D for a morphophonemic rule about the addition of pronoun set II to verbs with -on and -an suffixes.)

Appendix B - Nominal Markers

1. Chart of Case Markers

Personal Case Markers			
number	nominative	genitive	oblique
singular	ak	(-n) ni	kan
plural	da	(-n) da	kan da

Nonpersonal Case Markers			
number	nominative	genitive	oblique
singular	de	(-n) ni	atte
plural	da	(-n) da	atta
		(-n) di	sim

Notes:

1. The exact meaning of genitive marker di is unknown at this time. In some instances it indicates that the noun following it is being used in a generic sense. At other times it seems to indicate a greater degree of specificity.

2. Only one example of sim has been found to date. Its meaning is unknown at this time.

2. Topic Marker

The topic marker sa (plural form da) appears to be controlled by grammatical features operating at levels above the phrase. It occurs when a noun phrase moves to the head of a clause. It also precedes the first item in a series and optionally occurs before every other item listed. It often replaces the nominal marker of the noun phrase; however, there are instances where the nominal marker and the topic marker occur simultaneously.

3. Location Marker

Location marker ad occurs with place names or common nouns acting as place names.

4. Temporal Markers

Temporal markers ak and ad occur with time words and time phrases. Ak indicates specific future time, and ad indicates specific past time.

Appendix C - Phonology

1. General Sketch

There are 19 phonemes in Upper Tanudan Kalinga: 14 consonants and 5 vowels. The consonants are /p,t,k,b,d,g,m,n,ng,s,l,w,y/ and glottal stop. The vowels are /i,u,o,e,a/. Stress and consonant length are also phonemic. There are two syllable patterns: CV and CVC.

2. Concerning /r/

/r/ is an allophone of /l/. It occurs intervocalically, syllable initially, and syllable finally. It never occurs word initially or as a geminate consonant cluster /rr/. It is represented as /r/ in this paper when it occurs as such phonetically since it figures prominently in certain morphophonemic processes.

3. Concerning the glottal stop

There appear to be two glottal stops: a fortis glottal stop, and a lenis glottal stop. The fortis glottal stop can be replaced by /k/ and occurs word initally, medially, and finally. It is represented by /k/ in this paper. The lenis glottal occurs intervocalically and word initially, but not word finally. It may not be replaced by /k/, and is represented as /-/ when it follows a consonant or as /k-/ when it geminates. Otherwise it is unmarked.

Appendix D - Morphophonemic Rules

1. Link *we*

When a consonant-final word precedes the link *we*, the initial *w* of *we* assimilates completely to the final consonant of the preceding word. This change is optional, but quite common. This morphophonemic change is represented orthographically as the enclitic -e following consonant-final words. *We* can also become the enclitic *-e* following vowel-final words. The loss of a word-final vowel must take place before the enclitic *-e* attaches to the word.

2. Sequential Conjunction *wot*

Following words ending in *i*, the initial *w* of *wot* can be replaced by *y*. Following words ending in vowels other than *i*, the initial *w* of *wot* optionally becomes glottal stop.

3. Ligature *-n*

The ligature *-n* attaches to the end of a vowel-final word.

4. Personal Case Marker *ak*

The final *k* of the personal case marker *ak* assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the following word. However, *k* does not assimilate before words beginning with glottal stop. This alternation is optional, but occurs frequently.

5. Marker *ak*

The final *k* of marker *ak* usually undergoes reciprocal assimilation before words beginning with *b*. This alternation causes *ak* to become *ap*.

The final *k* of the marker *ak* also assimilates the voicing of the initial consonant of a following word when that word begins with *g* or *t*. This causes *ak* to become *ag* or *at*.

6. Marker *ad*

The final *d* of the marker *ad* assimilates completely to the initial consonant of the word which follows it. No assimilation occurs before a glottal-initial word. This alternation is optional, but common. When *ad* contracts with a preceding word, the assimilation of the final *d* is blocked.

7. Contraction of the Pronoun Set II

When -*ku*, -*nu*, or -*na* are added to verbs ending with suffixes -*on* or -*an*, the *n* of the suffix is lost, and the alternate forms -*k*, -*m*, and -*na* are added respectively. For example:

kanon + -----> *kanok* 'I will eat it'
kanon + -----> *kanom* 'you will eat it'
kanon + -----> *kanona* 'he will eat it'

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